The Woman's Municipal League Bulletin

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City Government in the Twentieth Century.

BY ELGIN R. L. GOULD, PH.D.

Delivered before the Woman's Municipal League, June 8th, 1905.

City Government is of the highest importance, and yet it is that one element in our government system with which we have not succeeded in dealing satisfactorily. In fact, American city government has been pronounced by no less an authority than James Bryce, the English publicist who spent years in investigating American institutions, as our weak spot. He is undoubtedly correct, for while we have learned how to manage properly national affairs, and while we have had measurable success with our State governments, American city government, looked at as a whole, has been relatively speaking, a singular failure.

This situation should create real concern since city government deals with interests vital and direct to every individual. Whether streets are kept clean in front of our houses, whether public schools are successfully managed, whether our water supply is adequate and in proper condition, are matters of much keener public interest than whether the Panama Canal Bill shall pass at Washington, or whether some measure affecting the State as a whole shall be passed or defeated at the State Capitol.

Some of the dangers involved in ill-administered city government are of supreme social importance. For example, an incompetent health department means not merely sickness, misery and death, but it involves a great loss of productive power. Herding in slums, if unchecked, promotes immorality and pauperism. The rum traffic utilized for purposes of political exploitation overlaps all bounds of ordinary social harm. Blackmail and non-enforcement of law generate disregard for law, while disregard for law speedily generates anarchy. The political control of public education pillages children of opportunities they can never regain, while neglect of facilities for recreation and social improvement, such as

small parks, public baths, libraries and museums, distinguish the crude from the well ordered, civilized city.

Another fact which makes city government of great import is the phenomenal growth of urban population, which in a century has increased from one-twentieth to one-third of all the people in the country. There were six cities, if I remember rightly, a century ago, which had each a population of more than eight thousand. At the present time there are several hundred. Cities are growing in number and population at an exceedingly rapid rate, hence in the future the morale of city governments will more and more determine the trend of State and National governments.

What are the theories of city government generally held in this country? First of all, let us notice a rather interesting lack of theory, or, perhaps I should say, a lack of uniformity in plan. A few years ago the charters of thirty-four cities in New York State had practically only one principle in common, viz., that they provided for a mayor and city council.

To this striking lack of uniformity in theory and system we may add a lack of business method in the matter of regulating city expenditures. Very often little distinction is made between the necessary and the desirable, or attention given to proper adjustment between future and present needs.

The most common theory about city government in this country is that it is political government, and our forefathers accordingly devised for us a system of checks and balances, moulding it on national and state institutions. For instance, the mayor, the supreme executive authority, is comparable with the President at Washington, the city council with Congress and the city judges with the federal judiciary. Hence city government was fashioned for us as political government. One consequence has been that almost uniformly we have allowed municipal elections to turn upon matters of federal or state policy. The bosses, who have been in the main, in control of city affairs, have been interested, as we can well understand, to make their constituents feel that unless they were "regular," unless they considered their first duty in voting a city ticket was to remember their affiliation to this or that national party, unfortunate results would ensue in relation to the presidency, or congress, or governorship.

In further pursuit of this aim there has developed a widespread conspiracy to make independent nominations and voting expensive and difficult. Another result is that "good citizens" (I put these words in quotation marks) have been very generally hoodwinked by specious appeals to partisan feeling. Men of this type grumble about extravagance; they loathe corruption; they bluster and storm; but on the day of election go to the polling booths and quietly—just for this time, as they say—deposit their ballots for the regular ticket. Such conduct reminds me of the negro girl who tried very hard to get religion. She averred that she had been trying for some years, that she had attended all kinds of meetings, had gone frequently to the mourner's bench, shouted, swayed and fallen prostrate, but all to no effect. Finally she reported to her mistress: "I tell you, Miss Liza, I guess tain't no use, for it seems I can't lose my mind." "Good citizens" find it the hardest thing in the world to lose their partisanship when voting is to be done, no matter how clear the importance of doing it.

The political theory of city government has resulted in making the city a subordinate unit largely under the control of the state legislature. Such control is often exercised to the detriment of a municipality. It is always resented and with entire propriety. In any event the denial of home rule, especially to a large metropolitan centre, cannot fail to generate a lack of civic pride and a diminished sense of civic responsibility. It also gives rise to financial exploitation and corrupt bargaining between political machines in city and state.

Another theory of city government views cities as imperial democracies. The governing power is largely centered in the hands of the mayor, and but little of it is reserved to the board of aldermen or common council. Such concentration of power appears to be a growing tendency in the United States—a tendency necessitated mainly by the "bad citizenship of good citizens"—as a former mayor of Chattanooga tersely expressed it. Nevertheless, while this policy of concentration indicates a failure of the representative idea, experience shows that it represents a practical step forward in securing better government.

But the main trend of the plan by which cities have become imperial democracies has been in the direction of lodging real power not in the elected officials, but in the hands of a man not holding office, but controlling the policy of the administration without corresponding responsibility. You know to whom I refer. This kind of man is no stranger to our larger municipalities. He is the boss. Where political parties are nearly evenly matched there are two. The system is well exemplified by the signs one sees on the doors of city halls. As you enter you encounter the word "Push." When you get inside the legend is "Pull." Oligarchy is established and the people must accept the kind of rule the beneficent (?) boss designs for them. Whenever the boss is sure of his ground "yellow" candidates for public office find favor, but when lean years are in prospect the boss finds a policy of circumspection more advisable, and offers to popular suffrage men irreproachable in private life, but endowed with weak wills, inordinate ambition or misguided partisanship. But please note, it is the boss who rules, and municipal spoliation in greater or less degree is the end aimed at and accomplished.

Municipal boss-ship in the United States has been developed into a business. Shrewd and able men make it a life career. They see the so-called "good citizens" inactive and the other sort of people willing to make alliances on mutually profitable terms. They associate themselves with kindred spirits of local importance, and form a "trust" in municipal government. Now, do not understand me as blaming the boss entirely. He is usually a man of fine organizing ability and keen foresight. He does exactly what the wise business man does every day, i. e., he makes the most of his opportunity. Remember, it is WE who create the opportunity. How then shall we shoulder the blame upon him?

American city government in the twentieth centnry will be based, I believe, on the principle of non-partisanship in municipal affairs. In other words, it will be governed BY the municipality FOR the municipality. The unreasonableness of linking municipal administration with partisan ideals is apparent when we consider the nature of such government. City government is simply a combination of business and housekeeping on a large scale. It is not a political govern-

ment and no party tests should be applied as criteria of administration. England for 155 years required that all public officials should affirm their disbelief in the Real Presence in the Holy Communion and take the sacrament in the form prescribed by the Established Church, as a test precedent to holding office. Think how important that was for a custom house officer! What a magnificent test for an internal revenue collector! But that was abolished 75 years ago, while we still think some way or other, and are encouraged so to think, that we must choose a mayor because he has certain ideas about tariff reform; that the mayor should select a street cleaning commissioner because of his approval or disapproval of anti-imperialism, or the head of the health department holding congenial views on fiat currency. That is what partisanship in municipal government means. The whole thing is supremely, picturesquely ridiculous.

The late Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, as chairman of a commission of eminent gentlemen in New York State considering the question of the relation of city government to the community just after the overthrow of the Tweed régimé, made the following report:

"The formation of general political parties upon differences as to general principles or methods of state policy is useful, or at all events inevitable. But it is rare, indeed, that any such questions, or indeed any upon which good men ought to differ, arise in connection with the conduct of municipal affairs. Good men cannot and do not differ as to whether municipal debt ought to be restricted, extravagance checked, and municipal affairs lodged in the hands of competent and faithful officers. There is no more reason why the control of the public works of a great city should be lodged in the hands of a Democrat or a Republican than there is why an adherent of one or the other of the great parties should be made the superintendent of a business corporation. Good citizens interested in honest municipal government can secure that object only by acting together. Political divisions separate them at the start, and render it impossible to secure the object desired equally by both. This obstacle to the union of good citzens paralyzes all ordinary efforts for good municipal government. The great prizes in the shape of place and power which are offered on the broad fields of national and state politics offer the strongest incentive to ambition. Personal advancement is, in these fields, naturally associated with the achievement of great public objects, and neither end can be secured except through the success of a political party to which they are attached. The strife thus engendered develops into a great battle in which each side feels that it cannot allow any odds to the other. If one seeks to turn to its advantage the patronage of municipal office, the other may carry the contest into the same sphere. It is certain that temptation will be withstood by neither. It then becomes the direct interest of the foremost men of the nation to constantly keep their forces in hostile array, and these must be led by, among other ways, the patronage to be secured by the control of local affairs. Next to this small number of leading men, there is a large class who, though not dishonest or devoid of public spirit, are led by habit and temperament to take a wholly partisan view of city affairs. Their enjoyment of party struggles, their devotion to those who share with them the triumphs and defeats of the political game, are so intense that they gradually lose sight of the objects for which parties

exist or ought to exist, and considerable proportions of them in their devotion to politics suffer themselves to be driven from the walks of regular industry, and at last become dependent for their livelihood on the patronage in the hands of the chiefs. Mingled with them is nearly as large a number to whom politics is simply a mode of making a livelihood or fortune, and who take part in political contests without enthusiasm, and often without the pretense of an interest in the public welfare, and devote themselves openly to the organization of the vicious elements of society in combinations strong enough to hold the balance in a closely contested election, overcome the political leaders and secure a fair share of the municipal patronage, or else extort immunity from the officers of the law. The rest of the community, embracing a large majority of the most thrifty classes, averse to engaging in what they deem the "low business" of politics, or helpless of accomplishing any substantial good in the face of such powerful opposing interests, for the most part content themselves with acting in accordance with their respective parties. It is through the agency of the great political parties, organized and operating as above described, that our municipal officers are and have long been selected. It can scarcely be a matter of wonder then that the present condition of municipal affairs should present an aspect so desperate."

This indictment which was true in 1876, is truer to-day, because we have had more examples of communities ruled under the same plan and with similar results.

Non-partisan municipal government is not only rational, it is necessary to save the great political parties from the effects of municipal spoliation. The intelligent partisan will try to effect separation. Secretary of War Elihu Root pointed this out in 1879. One of the virtues of such a system is that it stimulates civic pride. National parties can never bring local government home to the people. The issues should always be civic issues.

How can non-partisanship in city government be established? First of all, we must have complete separation of the dates of the municipal from state and national elections. This is an absolute essential. Secondly, we must have direct nominations. The right to nominate must become as free as the right to vote. Only in this way can we successfully overcome the efforts of ring-politicians to make independent nominations expensive and difficult, and give free expression to local sentiment. Thirdly, the organization and up-building of a civic party must be undertaken. Such a party must confine itself to municipal affairs exclusively and its pledges of enrollment must safeguard the right of every person to act with his party of preference in state and national contests. I am personally a firm believer in political organization, because I am convinced that the purposes of associated life can be best and most thoroughly achieved through organized effort. Organization stands for continuity; it represents a more or less permanent crystallization of sentiment while it affords a continuous channel through which much sentiment may find expression and be translated into action. There must be organization in politics, and he who pins his faith in anything else is an idle dreamer. Only in this way can the "community of interest" idea be projected into the civic sphere. But organization under disinterested leadership is a very different thing from oligarchy controlled by selfish interests.

We see the necessity for organization in studying the history of reform move-

ments. These in the past have usually been sporadic, representing mere upheavals of sentiment. In American politics far too much stress has been laid on the potency of upheavals to right everything. It is true that temporarily they rectify flagrant wrongs, but they contain no sustaining power, and usually the last state of the community is worse than the first. People can be stirred up for a time, they can be made to feel the iniquities of a situation, but when the balance has been restored they coddle themslves with a sense of duty done and either grow careless or revert to partisanship.

Is the organization of a civic party a practical possibility? In expressing an affirmative belief I am not a theorizer, but one who has long had a practical interest in municipal politics. To-day the Citizens' Union of New York City furnishes the most encouraging example. I believe it possesses the elements of permanency, because its organization is on a Democratic basis. Reform movements in the past have not usually been sporadic in character, but they have generally been organized and run by committees of prominent citizens in which the masses of the people have little or no practical influence. This method is tantamount to planting the standard on a high hill and beckoning all to come and rally round it. The type represented by the Citizens' Union presents leading citizens, it is true, in the front ranks, but shoulder to shoulder with the rank and file engaged in a steady movement forward. In the Citizens' Union control is exercised by a central city committee composed primarily of a delegate from each Aldermanic district—the unit of local representation—and these latter elect annually as delegates-at-large one-third of the entire membership of the committee from amongst those whose prominence and disinterested public spirit are recognized by the community. Hence the organization is not from ABOVE, but from WITHIN. The district chairman and delegates keep in touch with local residents and are their mouth-piece in presenting local needs, and in co-operating with the constituted authorities with the object of securing the best sort of administration. While they are not dispensers of *Panes et circenses,* as are the district leaders of party machines, they still can and do make themselves of service in the community in which they reside.

The permanence of a strictly municipal party—seeing its members work with little hope of political reward—is enhanced by the establishment of a guarantee fund to meet necessary and legitimate expenses, and also to provide for a continuous campaign of information in the interim between elections. Such a party must also present a positive and constructive program. It must jealously attend to the real interests of the plain people, eschewing demagogy, but holding that a low death rate is a better thing than a low tax rate, and that the physical, moral and social welfare of the great body of residents are the soundest criteria of good government. Such a party, based on an organization, larger in influence than in numbers, will inevitably assume leadership in any movement for sound and safe city government, and will eventually, I believe, be strong enough in pledged adherents not merely to control a fusion movement, but to furnish itself the majority. In New York we have not yet gotten beyond fusion, but, please note, we have passed the stage of sporadic reform. I am sure the third stage will be reached because I believe in the essential honesty and intelligence of the masses of the people.

Problems of Municipal Reform.

Address of Charles J. Bonaparte, before the National Municipal League City Club, New York City, April 27, 1905.

The greatest, we may almost say the one great, stumbling-block in the path of municipal reform, is the corruption of our politics, and this corruption is the fruit of causes in no wise peculiar to any one city or even to all cities in the American Union. To have a good city government in a democratic republic we must first of all, and before all else, have good citizens; they are no less needful for cities by the shores of the Pacific or of the Great Lakes than for those on the Atlantic Seaboard, or on our inland rivers; and without them good state government and good national government become ends of desire and effort no less disappointing and elusive, no less hard to gain and hard to hold when gained for a moment, than in the most ring-ruled, the most boss-ridden of our great cities.

It is true that the evils of political degradation in those cities, if not more serious in themselves or more alarming for the thoughful and patriotic, are undoubtedly more scandalous and repulsive than its immediate results in wider fields of public activity; thievery is more obstrusive, leaps more readily into the eyes of the careless on-looker, in our city halls than in our state capitols or their greater model at Washington. But in the first place, the difference is largely a matter of appearance, a very limited exploration below the surface brings to light startling resemblances between those influences and those motives which are of decisive weight in the three spheres of government, and, moreover, our state governments which have, in great measure, become, and our national government which shows many signs of becoming what the contagion of our city governments would naturally make them. How to secure honesty in the administration of pubic affairs in Greater New York or Philadelphia is already, in every sense, a problem of urgency for the patriotic citizen of New York State or Pennsylvania; it grows daily more and more a problem of urgency for the patriotic citizen of the United States.

The utility and success of any political or quasi-political organization depends, most of all, on sincere and hearty agreement among its members as to ends; difference, even very wide differences, of opinion as to means may exist within such a body with little impairment in its energy and courage, but so soon as a party or any substitute for a party becomes uncertain and divided as to its ultimate aims, is not sure where it wants to go, and not merely how it can best get there, it is stricken with paresis, and its action becomes a form of moral and intellectual locomotor ataxia.

An illustration is afforded by the proposal, seemingly endorsed by the result of the Chicago election, that municipalities undertake the business of transporting passengers for hire by owning and operating street railways. How far any government shall assume functions not inherent to sovereignty is essentially a question of expediency; historical and legal reasons and the influence of social and political tendencies will usually determine it in the case of each community; it is not and, perhaps, it cannot be fixed by any general rule or be subject to principles of universal application. It would be hard to find any very good rea-

son why the United States should monopolize the business of sending messages by post which would not justify a similar monopoly as to messages by telegraph. and, in fact, in most European countries the State takes charge of this business as it does of the other. Some persons may think that we might do well to follow this example; a few, perhaps, may even now believe that it would be better were our post office, with all its abuses and scandals, turned over to the Adams Express Company, or to whatever competitor might offer to do the work on more favorable terms; and others, who deem this suggestion, for practical reasons, inadmissible, may yet hold that the first lesson of experience in what we now undertake of such work is to undertake just as little more as may be possible. But on one point all must agree, namely, that however earnestly and confidently each disputant may believe what he says and say what he believes, he cannot consistently with charity and common sense either believe or say that all who differ with him are necessarily insincere or their attitude immoral.

This is equally, perhaps somewhat more clearly, true of the suggested acquisition and management of street railways by cities; this may be proven by experience wise and salutary; it may be proven unwise and harmful; it may be a gratifying success in some cities and a dismal failure in others; no one of these conjectures is so evidently sound as to command immediate and universal assent, or so plainly unreasonable that it cannot be sincerely and intelligently endorsed. There will be naturally, and there is, in fact, a wide and also an honest difference of opinion on the subject, and while this remains true, that subject will be one highly suitable for discussion before the National Municipal League, but, to my mind, at least, altogether inappropriate for determination by the League or action in pursuance of such determination.

The same agitation, however, furnishes also what appears to me a peculiarly apt illustration of that class of topics which *are* within the League's field of labor. In the streets of cities which decide to furnish rapid transit to their inhabitants private corporations already have their rails; the plant of these corporations must be acquired and their franchises, whatever these may be, extinguished before the experiment of municipal ownership of street railways, on any considerable scale at all events, can be fairly tried. How shall this be accomplished? In this question I do not refer to the mere method of attaining the end, but to its material incidents; that is to say, I ask whether the process shall be a moral or an immoral process.

There is danger of two very great abuses in any conversion of private into public property under analogous circumstances, the danger of bribery and "graft," with consequent injustice and hardship to the public, and the danger of spoliation excused by demagogism. These two evils are by no means mutually exclusive; on the contrary, the second is often the source and yet more often the pretext of the first. Wealth defends itself by corrupting its assailants; moreover, in the use of such weapons, it by no means remains always or habitually on the defensive. Philip of Macedon is credited with saying that he held no city impregnable which could be reached by a mule loaded with gold; our "Captains of Industry" and "Generalissimi of Finance" would probably agree with him. The true citadel of any community which they threaten is absolute honesty and fair

dealing on its own part, honesty in intention and language no less than in act. When private rights are destroyed for the public good their extent and value must be dispassionately ascertained by an impartial and competent tribunal, and full compensation for their loss paid over without delay or question. This is simple honesty, and that kind of honesty which is emphatically the best policy. A city which displays it may and probably will have to resist the bold and insidious schemes of rich and unscrupulous men seeking to make it pay fourfold for what it buys or to cheat it out of what it has bought; but in such a struggle, of all others, it "will have the strength of ten because its heart is pure"; for any city striving to these ends and guided by these lights, our League should do all it can, be this much or little.

In like manner the mere forms of municipal institutions and especially of municipal government, however interesting as objects of study and even practically important, can have, for the League, the character and consequences of means only. The League does not exist to secure model charters for American cities; it exists to aid in securing for them honest, efficient, and economical government; and, if it advocates one form of charter rather than another, this is only because it believes, as the result of observation and experience, not of mere *a priori* reasoning, that such government will be more readily gained and kept under the former than under the latter. After all, the men who administer the charter, whatever its merits or defects, make up the vital factor in the problem's solution. Men of the right kind will give those they govern fairly good government with very imperfect laws; while the best laws human wit may devise are impotent to do the like work with men of the wrong kind to give them effect. The provisions of its charter are for the city what its armament and armor are for the battleship; these help a strong, brave and faithful crew to do its duty, but are no safeguards against disaster when the man behind the gun is a weakling, a coward or a traitor at heart; so honest and competent officials can serve the public to better advantage if their duties and powers be fixed by enlightened laws; but that would be a very stupid boss who couldn't "beat" the most skillfully drawn of model charters were he allowed to man all the offices it affected.

It does not follow from what I have just said that the League has no other function than to imitate a certain very worthy preacher, all of whose sermons were alleged to amount, in last resort, to repetitions in varying language of the edifying but somewhat monotonous exhortation: "Oh, brethren, be good!" There are some features of a good city government so clearly shown to be vital by history, as well as by reason, that, for reformers, no more room remains for discussion as to their necessity and merits than as to those of laws punishing homicide or theft. Whatever the number, names and powers of our elective officers, we cannot have good government without fair elections; whatever the duties and compensation of our public servants, to fulfill the former and fairly earn the latter, they must be chosen for merit, not from favoritism, and removed for the public good, not to benefit any party, faction or person; however we may distribute authority among city officials, in a government of public opinion, responsibility for every public act of omission must be made clear, certain and individual to afford a reasonable hope of effective and beneficent control by public opinion.

These three requisites, at least, are so evidently indispensable to a satisfactory government for an American city that we may fairly count an honest election law, a thorough-going application of Civil Service Reform, and such simplification of duties and concentration of powers among municipal officers as will give the public some one man certainly to blame whenever there is any reason to blame anybody, ends of effort for municipal reformers.

At first sight, it would seem that an honest election law must be imperatively demanded by every honest man. For officers of election to wilfully misstate the people's verdict at the polls, in shameless violation of their own oaths, is so gross a wrong in itself, and so plainly destructive of self-government for the community thus wronged, that one can hardly believe any public man would propose or openly advocate changes in the law evidently and even avowedly intended to furnish opportunities for mistakes by voters and frauds by election officers, or that any political party would venture to endorse such proposals should any one be found to make them. Nevertheless just such changes in the law, for precisely such purposes, have been repeatedly attempted and in great part effected in my own State during the past four years; the party now dominant there is urging at this time an amendment to our Constitution whereby its leaders may arbitrarily disfranchise at any time hereafter their political opponents in numbers sufficient to perpetuate even against the people's will, their own control of the state government, and although I hope and believe this scheme will be defeated, it will have, indeed it has already, the countenance and support of many men who claim to be, and in private life are, honest and of good repute.

I ask that the National Municipal League on this subject give voice to the political conscience of the American people; that it declare the filching of a man's vote no less robbery than the filching of his goods or money; that it indignantly condemn any tampering with the fair and truthful record of the people's judgment as involving all the guilt of forgery, perjury and treason to free institutions, and that it urge its affiliated associations and individual members to demand always and everywhere throughout the Union a free ballot, which gives full effect to each voter's true wishes, and a fair count, which computes and returns the ballots cast according to the intentions of those who cast them.

There is hardly less reason for surprise that any defender should be found for a system which makes public employment the bait or reward of political activity or partisan services, and yet there is even less reason to question that such defenders are numerous and influential and often, even habitually, successful. In very few of our cities is there a general application of the Merit System in the selection of public servants. Where this does exist, only perpetual vigilance on the part of friends of good government prevents wholesale evasions and even impudent defiance of the law; elsewhere we find either a few fragments of the public service rescued with difficulty from the enemies of honest government or all of it abandoned to them. The National Municipal League has no more plain and pressing duty than to aid and encourage, in all appropriate ways and at all seasonable times, the universal acceptance and loyal observance by American municipalities of the principles of Civil Service Reform.

No master can be assured of faithful and efficient service who cannot set apart the zealous and capable from the lazy and stupid among his servants and treat each class as its merits and his interests demand. But to know whom to praise and keep and promote and whom to blame and send away, he must also know what each servant does or leaves undone; and, to this end, the task of each must be separate and under his own, and only his own, control. The people of a great American city, like any other employer of labor, ought to so distribute the work of their servants, that for whatever of this work is well or ill done or not done at all there shall be always someone known, certain, and at hand to answer; if two or three or half a dozen public officers or sets of public officers must take part in a public act, the people's blame is spread out too thin, the people's anger is too largely wasted, to really tell when this act is omitted or ill done. Let us have always some person or body and, as far as may be, one man, one man with no "ifs" or "buts" to qualify his responsibility, one man whom all know to be the man who might have done and ought to have done otherwise, to hold answerable when aught goes amiss. In urging this much, the League points a moral taught by all the lessons of American municipal history.

The Philadelphia System.

The Philadelphia System of Politics for years has been the admiration of politicians and the despair of reformers.

Spoils constituted its foundation and superstructure. The spoils of office, the spoils of contracts, the spoils of special privileges, the spoils of franchises, were all utilized to create an organization, *the organization* as it was known among its followers, supporters and admirers.

At the head stood the leader, the chief boss, a state official, appointed by the Governor. Surrounding him were a number of brigade commanders, who controlled their own wards and were influential in others. This Cabinet was composed mainly of contractors who were also ward leaders. Then came the forty-two ward leaders, all of whom, with a single exception, held some city, state or federal office. Then came the division leaders, the great majority of whom were office holders or expectant office holders.

The leader controlled the city committee which was, with a very few exceptions (where the law interfered), composed of the ward leaders. The ward committees were composed mainly of the division leaders. In short the organization was one of office holders and for office holders.

Contractors who were not active politically, contributed to the financial support of the organization. Those who enjoyed special privileges or franchises did likewise. Everyone who received any benefit, no matter how slight, had to contribute his own vote and those he controlled and then either further political service or a substantial cash contribution. Spoils bound "the organization" together; it constituted the reason for existence. It assumed the title "Republican" because Philadelphia happened to be a Republican city. In New York it would have assumed the title "Democratic."

"The organization" controlled the state as well as the city and therefore was able to control state patronage and protect itself against attacks and investigations from that quarter.

Controlling the state enabled it to control the United States Senatorships, and so the federal patronage was at its disposal.

In full control of the city, state and federal patronage, under an effective leadership that had known no defeat for many years, with a string of victories made possible by a control and perversion of the ballot boxes, "the organization" lacked the one thing needful, nay, the one thing essential to its continuance—sympathetic public sentiment.

In short "the organization" had been tolerated. It did not represent the wishes of the mass of the people and when the critical moment came, it hesitated and faltered; it retreated and capitulated, because public sentiment was against it and because that public sentiment manifested itself in an unmistakable way. "The organization" has really as many office holders nominally in its ranks as in its palmiest day, but it is broken and uncertain, because public sentiment will no longer tolerate their past practices.

Mayor Weaver represents aroused and aggressive Philadelphia and he represents it admirably. His two years' nominal affiliation with "the organization" and tentative acquiescence in its demands have served to fit him for the great task of redeeming and reorganizing Philadelphia's municipal government. He can accomplish what a new man, no matter how well intentioned, would find it difficult if not impossible to do. In short he "knows the ropes" and so can speedily give force and effect to the insistent demand for a complete change of methods.

Moreover, Mayor Weaver is able to accomplish the wishes of Philadelphia because he is working under a law, popularly known as the Bullitt Bill, which makes the Mayor the real head of the city, which places in his hand, not only the responsibility, but the power to enforce that responsibility.

If Philadelphia did not have Mayor Weaver and if he did not have the authority and powers which the present law gives, public sentiment might and would find a way of expressing and enforcing itself, but it would be very greatly handicapped and delayed.

The present Philadelphia situation then teaches these lessons: The power of publc sentment to curb and control the most complete, and the most compact and strongly buttressed political organization; The great help which a courageous, public-spirited and experienced public official can render to the expression and enforcement of public opinion; and, The equally great assistance in the same direction of adequate laws.

Any one of these three factors would have been helpful. Combined they are invincible.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF,
Secretary of the National Municipal League, and Chairman of the Election Reforms Committee of Philadelphia.

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. SEPTEMBER, 1905 No. 2

All Communications should be sent to **THE WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE,**
Room 1509, 31 Union Square, West

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The New York Subway.

The Rapid Transit Act, passed in 1894, under which the Rapid Transit Commission has worked since that year, is a municipal ownership law. The present subway was built at public expense and the city owns it as absolutely as it owns Central Park or its docks or its water works. But before it was built it was leased for a term of practically seventy-five years and placed farther beyond city control during that period than are the elevated and surface lines, which were built by private capital.

In the old days many scandals originated over the granting of railroad franchises without due regard for the public interests. We are accustomed to criticise unsparingly the venality or stupidity of the old boards of aldermen and legislatures for the improvidence in granting perpetual franchises of incalculable value practically for nothing. To guard against this practice in the future, the Greater New York Charter limited the term for which a franchise could be granted absolutely to twenty-five years and made provision for its reversion to the city at the end of the term.

Yet, in the old days, although franchises were granted on what seem to us now almost criminally inadequate terms, in every case the grantee of the franchise was obliged to build his own railroad at his own expense and pay taxes upon it when built. Those taxes were enormously increased by the Franchise Tax Law which I had passed in 1899. Moreover, the grantee always purchased with his own money such additional easements and other property as might be necessary to complete the right of way. Also, the grantee invariably paid the damages caused by him to property owners and took care of his own law suits.

Under this wonderful rapid transit act of ours, the ways of the old boards of aldermen and legislatures have been vastly improved upon.

For example: The City built the new subway at a cost to it of $35,000,000

on what was the most valuable franchise in the world and handed over both franchise and completed road to the Belmont Syndicate for seventy-five years. As though that was not liberal enough, the road, franchise and equipment were exempted from taxation and the city agreed to purchase in addition, at its own expense, all easements and property necessary to perfect the right of way. Finally the city undertook to pay all damages caused to property owners, and to guarantee at its own cost freedom from interference through the courts with the right to operate the road.

The total payments to be made to the city by the grantee are the interest on the cost (about 3 1-3 per cent) plus one per cent as rental—approximately 4 1-3 per cent in all. If nothing was paid as rental and the road equipment and franchise merely subjected to the same tax levied upon the property of other railroads and private persons, the Belmont syndicate would be paying into the city treasury over a million dollars annually. It pays only $350,000 as rental and lets the advertising privilege for $550,000 a year.

Nothing so vitally concerns the moral, material and intellectual welfare of the masses of our people as does this transportation problem. Our population is more congested than any other on earth. Rents here are the highest in the world and continually rising because we are cooped up in Manhattan and a section of Brooklyn. Yet there are thousands upon thousands of acres in these and the outlying boroughs given over to agriculture or lying waste because of the lack of proper transportation facilities. So difficult is it to get from the business sections of the city to and from the countless attractive home sites with which our city abounds, that half a million of our people have been forced to brave the inconvenience and uncertainties of the North River ferries and take up a residence in New Jersey in order to get the kind of homes and surroundings which they desire. They make their money here, but spend it in another State, pay taxes there, perform jury duty there, and discharge their civil duties there, thus throwing upon those who both do business and live here an unfair proportion of these burdens. When the several North River tunnels now building are completed and Jersey trolley cars enter Manhattan direct, superseding the slow, uncertain ferry boats, with their delays and inconveniences, we shall quickly lose another half million of the population which naturally belongs to us, unless adequate means are provided to get cheaply, quickly and comfortably to the splendid residential sections to be found in all the boroughs. Such transportation facilities ought to be and can be furnished through the vast system of subways which we are starting to build. With the cheap city capital available for their construction, the low cost of operation and maintenance, no taxes, dividends or profits of any kind to pay, a three-cent fare and a speed of a mile a minute on express trains are entirely practicable. The system should be so planned and built as to distribute a million of the population from the congested districts to the sunshine and beauty which are calling for them in Queens, the Bronx, Richmond and Brooklyn. Not only will those who go be benefited by lower rents and more elevating surroundings, but those who remain will benefit in almost equal degree through the relief of congestion and the consequent lower rents and superior habitations available.

These city railroads should afford cheap and quick access to all the parks, museums, libraries, schools, colleges, art galleries and similar public and philanthropic institutions, thus bringing them within reach of the masses whom they are primarily intended to serve.

All these things can be accomplished by simply refraining from giving away to private corporations any more subways. We have merely to build and control the roads ourselves and, if need be, operate them ourselves.

The Rapid Transit Commission seem determined, however, that a different policy shall be pursued. They have laid out almost a score of new tunnel routes primarily to suit the transportation corporations rather than to best serve the public. They are so laid out that they will necessarily fall into the hands of those corporations for long terms to be operated for private profit regardless of the public convenience. The same sort of service may be expected upon them as we now get on existing lines. Our transportation masters want a short haul and crowded cars, for they make dividends. Congestion of population is what they most desire.

To defeat the present plan to hand the new subways over to the Ryan-Belmont interests for generations without city control ought to be the dominant issue in the coming campaign.

As I said in the beginning, we already have municipal ownership of railroads. It is but a short step further to add to it city control—control of the kind and character of service and the rates of fare. Yet that little step would do more to benefit the people of the city than any other single thing that is within the pale of practical politics.

JOHN FORD.

Municipal Ownership and Operation of Bridges and Ferries.

The recent histories of almost all New York's public service corporations follow the same general lines. First, a municipal utility is cornered, by methods no matter how piratical, and competition is suppressed. The properties (including franchises) are then recapitalized at considerably more than intrinsic worth and of course more than cost. Large holdings of the new securities are distributed among life insurance companies, fire insurance companies, trust companies, and other financial institutions controlled by the insiders, who, however, retain a safe working control. A comfortable minority interest is disposed of to the investing public at luxurious prices in exchange for real money; but the actual majority interest is carefully concealed. Handsome returns by way of interest and dividends are paid to the holders of the inflated capital by charging the public extortionate rates for the service rendered, and a high stock market quotation is easily maintained. Any effort to obtain a reduction of rates by legislation is met by the liberal use of those blandishments that appeal to the average legislator, and by the cry, "You are imperiling the investments of widows and orphans," and by all the deceptive sophistry that high-priced legal talent can devise.

Is it to be wondered at that the estates of dying politicians contain blocks of such securities or that the common people turn instinctively to municipal ownership of all utilities?

Is it significant that most of the great bridges were started as private enterprises, but had to be completed by the former city of New York or the city of Brooklyn, or by both together? The New York and Brooklyn Bridge was started by a private corporation. The two cities were allowed to subscribe for stock and did so, and later obtained representation on the board of directors; but in 1875 the company sold out and the bridge was brought to completion as a municipal enterprise by city officials.

The idea of a Williamsburgh Bridge and of a bridge on the site of Manhattan Bridge was first privately conceived. The East River Bridge Company obtained for the purpose a most generous charter from the notorious Legislature of 1892, but started at the wrong end by trying to build in Manhattan an elevated road as a bridge approach before commencing work on the bridge itself. After the courts had defeated this little "game," the Legislature created the Williamsburgh Bridge Commission representing New York and Brooklyn, which Commission promptly purchased at private sale the right of the East River Bridge Company to locate and construct the Williamsburgh Bridge, and thereafter this structure was completed as a purely municipal enterprise. The Manhattan Bridge and the Blackwell's Island Bridge are being built by the city, private corporations having failed to do so.

A favorite argument against municipal ownership is that progress on municipal undertakings is unnecessarily slothful; but how unprogressive private capital is at times!

But municipal ownership under present civic and financial conditions is a grave problem. It involves not merely the acquisition of the title to the physical property and franchises, but also the operation of those properties in an efficient manner.

In the case of New York's bridges this phase of the question slaps us right in the face. With a few exceptions there are no privately owned bridges in the city used for public purposes. All bridges used for street surface cars, foot passengers and vehicles belong to the municipality.

Municipal "operation" of a bridge includes not merely maintenance, keeping clean and in repair, but also the operation of a railroad for the traveling public. No bridge in the city is now municipally operated, wholly. The New York and Brooklyn Bridge originally was, and that was good and efficient operation, even though the "soft places" at the disposal of the Trustees were sometimes used to supply political favorites with pocket money. A Tammany Bridge Commissioner in 1898 turned the road and its equipment over to what is now the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company.

On the Williamsburgh Bridge, trolley cars are privately operated. The demand for through transportation without change has been used to prevent municipal operation, just as in the case of the old bridge it was used as an excuse to do away with such operation. On the old bridge we have through transportation by elevated trains, but only at certain hours of the day, and on the new

bridge there are privately operated "shuttle" cars which do not leave the bridge property. The city could just as well operate these "shuttle" cars itself, especially as the corporation operating them has refused to pay its rent.

There are as yet no elevated trains on the new bridge. The East River Bridge Company, when it sold part of its "rights" to the Williamsburgh Bridge Commission for $200,000, carefully stipulated that the bridge should be so constructed as to accommodate the Brooklyn elevated trains. The estimable gentlemen of the Bridge Company were in the railroad business. The bridge was so constructed; hence, the aerial monstrosity at Delancey and Clinton Streets, Manhattan, and the recent agitation for an elevated loop between the bridges. The antagonism of two great public service corporations toward one another prevents the people from obtaining the full use of the people's $22,000,000 structure.

In 1903, the Board of Estimate and Apportionment and the Board of Aldermen granted to certain railroads a franchise for Macomb's Dam Bridge over the Harlem River. This was a "cumbersome" operation and the franchise was filled with "awkward" provisions for the protection of the city. No such "mistake" is to be made with the fine new Vernon Avenue Bridge over Newtown Creek, connecting Brooklyn and Queens. Tracks have already been constructed on that bridge for the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, and it is rumored that the Tammany Bridge Commissioner has already delivered to that Company another of his famous secret leases. At the Queens end of the structure, however, stands Mr. Belmont with a powerful street surface railroad and title to all land available for a suitable bridge approach.

Municipal "operation" of the bridges is, therefore, to a great extent, but one element of the far more serious problem of the municipal ownership and operation of the street railroads, surface, elevated and underground.

Municipal ownership of New York's ferries has always been limited to the ownership of certain approaches and of the franchises. Some approaches and the equipments have been privately owned and the ferries have been privately operated under leases for terms of years which have been either sold to the highest bidder or granted without competition by the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund. The results reached have been grand arguments for full municipal ownership and operation, except where the ferries have been merely adjuncts for great railroads. Except in those cases, the service rendered has been abominable and the equipment disgracefully old and poorly maintained. The Union Ferry Company some years ago treated itself to a financial operation whereby much of the "juice" was squeezed out of it, and little was left for betterments. The competition of the city's bridges prevented it from charging exorbitant rates. Some of its boats were gunboats in the Civil War. The service and equipment of the Staten Island ferry are beyond description; but the city has bought the Staten Island approach, is reconstructing the Manhattan approach, and has purchased a fleet of fast, up-to-date boats, and proposes to operate them itself under the control of the Commissioner of Docks and Ferries.

The result of this experiment will be very instructive. Can municipal operation of a public utility be expected to be successful under the control of a public official who, being appointable and movable at pleasure by the mayor, may be

selected not because of fitness, but because of subserviency to a political boss? Will this fine new ferry, with its splendid equipment, be so wretchedly and expensively managed that in a few years it can, without public protest, be given away to private capitalists for an insignificant consideration? Is the history of the Philadelphia gas plant sufficiently vivid in the public mind to prevent such a disaster?

By what method can the municipality secure and retain faithful representatives who have only the city's good and that of its common people at heart? We have observed bi-partisan appointive boards break their trusts through both mis-feasance and non-feasance, and we have concluded to discard them as efficient municipal agencies. We have seen an appointive commission with many independent powers, including the unusual power to fill a vacancy in its own membership, accomplish the unheard of result of building in a splendid manner a $50,000,000 underground railroad *on time*. We shall watch with intense interest the manner in which the new Water Board with its equally great powers, except that of self-perpetuation, performs its tremendous duties. We have seen heads of departments appointable and removable at pleasure by a Mayor who holds office for a short term of years, allow great public works to fall into decay. But we have not tried in New York the protecting of the heads of the ordinary administrative departments from removal for political reasons. We have never required any Mayor to reinstate such official upon its being proved to a court and jury that the removal was made in "bad faith," at the behest of some political boss or machine, and not for the good of the city and its common people. Why should not our next Commissioner of Docks and Ferries, upon whose faithfulness will depend the successful operation of the new Staten Island ferry, be ensured such protection?

EDWARD S. BROWNSON, JR.

Some Facts About Chicago.

Chicago perhaps before any city in the country at the present time is entitled to the distinction of being the chief laboratory of American democracy. In the crucible of her social and political experience probably more problems of the first importance to American citizenship are being rapidly reduced to their elements or forced into new combinations than in any other city on the continent.

The Chicago of to-day is pre-eminently a "city in the making," with all the unpleasant concomitants of growth in evidence, but with potentialities of future greatness and beauty apparent on every hand. Like most growing things, she is immensely interesting. The yeast is in her. Things happen constantly. People who know her best say they never dare go away on vacations for fear of the things she will do in their absence. To-day it is five million dollars for a boulevard. To-morrow it is five million dollars for a county building. One day she fills up the lake to make a park. Another day she dredges out a park to make a lake. Last week she emptied her river into Lake Michigan. This week she empties it into the Gulf of Mexico. Another month and she may turn the wheels of industry with power from her drainage canal. She builds a

university in a day and a subway in a night. When the sun lifts his flushed face from the bosom of Lake Michigan of a morning he rubs his eyes and says: "What ho, Chicago! What hast thou been doing since I saw thee last?" And Chicago pulls herself together for the day and yawns, "Fie upon this quiet life. I want work."

Chicago's very weaknesses have been in a conspicuous degree the sources of her strength. Out of a flat and uninteresting topography with soil which geology tells us was once the bed of the lake, inhospitable to trees save for the cottonwood and the willow, she has evolved a system of parks and parkways of much beauty and an outer belt of reservations designed to meet the needs of a generation to come.

Out of her political corruption has come a Municipal Voters' League and a vitalized and responsible Common Council. Her poverty and largely resultant inefficiency have served as an invitation to the development of the neighborhood improvement association which cleans and sprinkles streets and alleys, abates nuisances, superintends the laying of pavements, agitates for track elevation and street widening, discusses charter revision and brings beauty, cleanliness, order and social solidarity to large areas and spends in so doing more than one hundred thousand dollars annually. In these neigborhood activities it is interesting to observe that women bear their full share of responsibility and not infrequently take the lead. In this entirely normal extension of woman's sphere as housekeeper and home-maker to include the bringing of order and beauty into the neighborhood and so to affect increasingly the interests of the whole community, women here, as in so many towns throughout the land, are gaining a knowledge of conditions, a schooling in methods which is fitting them better than reams of polemics or eons of discussion would ever do for the exercise of suffrage under the law as they now exercise it quite simply in all matters with which the improvement association has to do.

The tenement problem and the slums have in Chicago given rise to the most significant development of the small park or play field which is to be found in the country. About forty of these play fields, varying in extent from three and a half acres to twenty acres, were last year selected by a commission appointed for the purpose. Fourteen of them are either completed and in use or in process of construction. Each field includes a field house of artistic design with a refectory, reading room, men's and women's gymnasiums and baths, club rooms, and halls for dancing and lectures, designed for use all the year round. There are also outdoor gymnasiums, swimming pool, band stand, provision for skating in winter, trees, flowers, shrubs, grass and plenty of seats. It goes almost without saying that wherever these fields exist—and the first was open to the public in April of the current year—they are the accepted center of neighborhood activity. Families go there together for their daily outings. They eat there. The men smoke and discuss, the women gossip or sew, the children play about, and there is no one to molest them or make them afraid. On certain days of the week the band plays. All is free of charge except the food, and that is of the best quality and sold practically at cost.

It is entirely possible that out of the local transportation tangle, which is

unspeakable, viewed either from the point of time, convenience or expense, a solution may be reached which will mark a distinct advance on prevailing methods and conditions in the average American city, not to speak of Chicago, where any change must necessarily be for the better. At this writing Mayor Dunne, with the assistance of a traction expert loaned by Mayor Johnson of Cleveland, who has from the first taken almost a personal interest in the Chicago transportation matter, has worked out a plan providing for two hundred and sixty four miles of municipal street railways, chiefly by the taking over of lines upon which the franchises have expired or will expire within the next few months. How such a municipal system may be financed and administered is not yet clear. Indeed, no plan yet advanced for acquiring and operating the lines appears to have carried conviction even to the friends of municipal ownership, and the attitude of the conservative press, which improves every opportunity to befog the issue, does not tend to simplify the situation to the lay mind.

It is more than likely that the people, who have twice voted for acquiring the street railways, will be called upon to express themselves in a third referendum. At present the ship of municipal ownership appears to be pursuing a shifting and uncertain course, and he would be a hardy prophet, indeed, who would attempt to predict whether shipwreck or safe harbor will be her fate.

But, although Mayor Dunne was elected upon a strictly municipal ownership platform, he will not be judged entirely by the failure or success of that particular measure. Although he assumed the duties of his high office less than five months ago, and during practically four months of that time the teamsters' strike was the all-absorbing, all-compelling public issue, his administration has been responsible for significant innovations in several moss-grown branches of the public service.

First of all, there was his appointment of Mr. Joseph Medill Patterson, a young man of twenty-six and a Yale graduate, to the position of Commissioner of Public Works. Mr. Patterson's appointment spread consternation through the entire department, which his subsequent behavior has entirely justified. Such a shaking up as the Department of Public Work has received at his hands would account for the present crumbling and alleged unsafe condition of the City Hall if there were no other contributary causes. During his brief term in office he has reorganized the water department; secured the conviction and dismissal from a civil service position of the head of the street cleaning division and put a competent person in the place. He has initiated a system for renting sub-sidewalk space to the commercial houses, which have hitherto paid nothing for this privilege; has ensured the enactment of an ordinance which provides that the conditions of all awards for public contracts shall be published, and is now dickering direct with the coal mines for the city's winter supply of fuel, thus aiming another body blow at the middleman and the grafter. Good luck be to his elbow, say all honest people, and to all young men of ability and training and high purpose who will not disdain to make a career for themselves in their city's employ. If such a code of ethics should come to prevail among our young men the days of the octopus would be numbered and it would not be a matter of surprise if they should find that in the gift of the people there are rewards for such service greater than any the corporation or trust can pay.

But it is not alone into the Department of Public Works that new blood has been infused. The Board of Education has come in for a share. Three of the best-known and most efficient women in Chicago, Jane Addams, Mrs. Emmons Blaine and Dr. Cornelia DeBey, are among the new Mayor's appointments to that important body, and already the effect upon its policy is marked. People who are interested in the public schools will do well to keep in touch with the doings of the Chicago Board of Education from this time on.

The new Commissioner of Health is making a stand for clean meat and more efficient food inspection all along the line. The new Chief of Police, cynical as one is inclined to be that any good can come out of a police department, really appears to be doing business and to be living up to his promises with a reasonable degree of success.

It must not be supposed that all Mayor Dunne's appointments have turned out felicitously. Some have been distinctly disappointing, but in the main they are by common consent far above the Chicago average and entitle the Mayor to be credited with honesty and singleness of purpose and considerable courage in face of the pressure for the continuance of the old order of things which has been brought to bear.

There are other matters of public importance in Chicago which will demand early recognition. Chief among these is that of securing adequate railway terminals and their articulation with local transportation facilities.

It is not possible within the limtis of this article to make clear the utter futility and childishness of the transportation map of Chicago in this respect alone. There is absolutely nothing organic about it. It just happened. That is the most which can be said for it. Local geography in part explains it, though it cannot excuse it. The city is divided by the river into three sections—the north, the south, and the west. Each division has its independent surface system and elevated road. Except for a concerted attempt on the part of the elevated railways to throttle the commercial center of the city by throwing a noose about it, which they please to call "the loop," and a common attempt on the part of the surface companies to terminate all their main routes within the confines of that magic circle, no serious attempt to co-ordinate the various local and steam transportation lines has been made.

What is needed, of course, is an official commission authorized to go into the whole matter as Boston's transportation commission did and to evolve a plan which will provide first, for the concentration of railroad and steamship terminals with provision for handling passengers and freight by land and water; second, the building of a subway equipped for both freight and passenger service; third, the articulation of the surface, elevated and subway service of the entire city with the terminals.

The opening up of avenues of communication between the terminals and the parks, the grouping of public buildings at favorable centers, with the consequent gain in convenience and beauty, would follow naturally upon such a terminal improvement, and Chicago would wake to a consciousness of solidarity such as she has not yet grasped.

LENORA AUSTIN HAMLIN,
Director Municipal Museum of Chicago.

Dalrymple On Municipal Ownership.

The newspapers of the country, egged on by the public service corporations, are claiming more comfort from the recent assertion of Mr. James Dalrymple, of Glasgow, who was sent to Chicago to advise Mayor Dunne about the installation of municipal railways in that city, than the situation will warrant. Most of the newspaper editors have given the impression that because of the opinion of Mr. Dalrymple, everything in the way of municipal ownership and operation in this country, has not only been a failure, but for all time to come will be a failure, if attempted.

To any well-informed citizen of the United States, this cannot but appear absurd, for the simple reason that there are hundreds of municipal plants in the United States, including water, electric light and gas, which are managed as economically as are the municipal tramways in Glasgow. To express any other view is a simple evidence of either one of two things: First, ignorance; or, second, that it is an opinion paid for or instigated by the owners of private corporations.

The foregoing is simply based upon the general press reports that appeared throughout the country upon Mr. Dalrymple's departure from Chicago, when, as a matter of fact, words were put into Mr. Dalrymple's mouth that he never uttered.

To a representative of *The Municipal Journal,* he made this general denial of these false reports, circulated by private corporations and others opposed to municipal ownership and operation: "I desire to deny that I ever said that the political machines of American cities were strong enough, with their control of the policemen and firemen, and that they would be simply impregnable if the street railways were taken over. I have no criticisms of America or of American politics.

"I came to America at the request of Mayor Dunne of Chicago. He asked me to give him as clear an expression of the situation in Glasgow as I possibly could. He wished to know how the workers were appointed, how they were discharged, and how the lines were operated. I told him everything I knew, and put the facts before him as clearly as possible.

"Touching the question of politics, this much I will say, that they are at all times a peril in city ownership. The two must be kept separate, or no successful results can be achieved. I do not know the politics of two members of the Glasgow Board of Aldermen. They are constantly sending to me, of course, men to be employed in the tramway service and with the hope of obtaining places for them, but political backing does not secure preference in the selection of employees. As a matter of fact, I have generally noticed that the applicant who has political backing is usually least capable."

Just as *The Municipal Journal* believed, when the press reports first appeared to the effect that Mr. Dalrymple had asserted that public ownership and operation could never succeed in American cities because of the expense of political machines, he has emphatically denied making any such assertion. In the general

conversation about the whole subject, it was evident that political machinery had much less control of public service corporations in Glasgow than in any American city, but even granting so much, Mr. Dalrymple expressed the conviction that taking all things into consideration, the American people would receive far greater benefits, if their street railways and other public service corporations were owned and operated by municipalities. For example, he was firm in his belief that the transportation companies of New York City had a fat thing; that to charge a five-cent fare, considering the crowded condition of the cars during many hours of the day, was little short of highway robbery. He expressed astonishment at the apparent forbearance and humility on the part of all classes of citizens in the great cities of America, which permitted these corporations to accumulate millions at the expense of the people.

The readers of *The Municipal Journal* will be glad to have the false impressions, created by a subsidized press throughout the country, corrected. Mr. Dalrymple does not believe that the corporation should rule in the public service field, but on the contrary emphatically expressed strongest belief in the ownership and operation of public service corporations by municipalities. — *Municipal Journal and Engineer,* July, 1905.

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. OCTOBER, 1905 No. 3

The regular Monthly Meeting of the League for October will be omitted.

KATHERINE T. RHODES,
Assistant Secretary.

Contrasts Between Company and Municipal Ownership and Management of Public Utilities.*

Papers read at the Lake George Convention of the Street Railway Association of the State of New York, June 27 and 28.

BY H. W. BLAKE.

Public utilities exist because of public demand. Their value to the public is proportionate to the service they render. They should be gaged by this standard alone. The extent of their adoption in any country or locality is the best evidence whether or not those who are responsible for furnishing them have done their duty to the public and met its requirements.

Where American street railway companies stand in this regard is demonstrated by the fact that the track mileage of street railways in the United States is greater than that of all the other countries in the world combined.

Fundamentally, the responsibility for the existence of public utilities is with the people themselves, through the governments which they have created or under which they live, for it is a well-defined legal theory that the power to grant rights and privileges for creating and conducting public utilities comes from the public as personified by State or municipality.

Four general plans, with many variations in their details, have been adopted the world over for the introduction and maintenance of public utilities.

(1)—Governmental or municipal ownership and operation.

(2)—Governmental or municipal ownership, with private operation.

* For information and opinions *in favor* of Municipal Ownership our readers are referred to the September issue of the Bulletin, the opposite side being represented in this number.—EDITOR.

(3)—Perpetual concessions of franchises to private companies or individuals.

(4)—Concessions to private companies or individuals, limited to a term of years, at the expiration of which the property is usually taken over by the government or municipality, sometimes on a favorable basis by the concessionaire, sometimes on a basis of virtual confiscation of the tangible property.

While, as stated, the power for authorizing public utilities rests with the State, unless the ultra socialistic theory of government and social existence is conceded and adopted, there should be a divisional line somewhere between the proper functions of government and what can be best accomplished by private enterprise. As to where this line should be drawn in a country depends greatly on the form and character of its government. But experience in all countries has demonstrated that the division that is most advantageous for the public is that between what our British friends designate as non-productive undertakings, i. e., those things which are essential to government and of universal public benefit, such as the maintenance of police, fire, street, health, charity and similar departments of public service, and reproductive undertakings, so-called, such as gas, electric lighting, telephone, street railways, etc.

Nevertheless, it must be conceded that if the latter class of enterprises are to be undertaken by the State or municipalities, comparatively better results can be obtained in countries like Great Britain, where politics play but a small part in municipal affairs, where there is permanency in public office and where practically every individual who is permitted to vote at municipal elections must be a local taxpayer, than would be the case under our political system. This difference would exist to a still greater extent in a comparison with Germany, where municipal officials who have demonstrated efficiency and ability in certain positions are promoted to more important ones of the same character in larger cities. Yet even in these countries municipal ownership and operation is by no means an unqualified success, enthusiastic theorists to the contrary.

Existing statistics will prove the truth of this statement and could the accounts of the public utilities owned by European municipalities be rearranged in accordance with the standard systems of accounting adopted by public utility companies in this country, the results from a comparison with what has been accomplished in this country would be disheartening to the advocates of municipal ownership and operation.

Present comparisons of results are generally made between those obtained by the best governed municipalities in the world and those of European companies whose spirit is less progressive, whose methods are more expensive and cumbersome than those of American companies, and whose development and progress has been seriously restricted by onerous and almost impossible franchise and similar conditions.

The American theory of government, up to the present at least, has been "that a people which is the least governed is the best governed," and under this theory America has progressed and prospered beyond all other nations. Where least success has been secured here is where our governments, National, State and

municipal, have too closely approached or crossed the line of proper governmental functions. Illustrations of this are before us on every hand.

Fortunately, the American plan of treating with public utilities has generally been for the States directly, or through the municipalities to whom they have delegated such authority, to issue franchises to semi-public companies, authorizing them to conduct the development. True, these franchises are of widely different provisions and character; some crude and defective, others almost ideal; all are inharmonious in their provisions and in the sources from which they have originated. *Yet the work done under them stands unequalled in the world in what has been accomplished for the public good, both in the extent of development and service rendered.*

With all of this there is not an absolute incurable monopoly connected with any public utility company in the United States. American courts have held that exclusive franchises were against public policy and are consequently invalid. American State and municipal governments are to-day receiving from the public utilities as taxes and similar payments, a larger total than is similarly contributed by all of the public utilities of Europe, whether these are owned by municipalities or by companies.

In America, vested rights and expenditures of those who have pioneered the way on public utilities have been respected and paid for by the larger companies which have followed the pioneer work to the advantage of the public. Those, therefore, who have participated in the development of American public utilities, can justly be proud of what they have accomplished, yet no matter how excellent the record may be, there are always theorists and others who will claim that it could have been improved upon, and still others who desire to change and interfere with anything which has been successful in which they themselves have not participated; and these mislead others.

The great public, however, which, under our American system, is the State and municipality, is sincere and zealous for good government and the best results and generally gets what is the best to meet its conditions, but in ways which are most incomprehensible to the European mind. It is rarely misled, when a full honest statement of facts on any great question is properly laid before it, but without such a presentation of truths, it will temporarily listen to, and be influenced by, whatever is submitted to it through sensational newspapers or by public utterances which may not be in accordance with the facts.

The effect of this last tendency is now apparent in that a serious wave of agitation, in favor of municipal ownership, so-called, is sweeping over the country, but the principle is un-American and contrary to our theories of government which have so far proved so successful.

What has been or can be accomplished in this direction under autocratic, bureaucratic or socialistic governments, is not the question in America unless we adopt one or the other of these forms of government. The question is, can or cannot municipal ownership and management be more successful under our present forms of State and municipal government, than the system which has operated so successfully in this country? So far, the education of the American people upon the subject of municipal ownership has principally been academic,

theoretical, haphazard and unbusinesslike, generally conducted by those who have no practical familiarity with the subject.

You are public servants as well as representatives of large private investments; that you have not been unmindful of your duty as public servants is evidenced by all that you have accomplished for the public good. It is not exaggeration to state that a comparison of returns from American street railway investments with the public service rendered, demonstrates that the public interest has been the better cared for of the two.

But you are public servants to perhaps a greater extent than is included in simply well meeting local transportation requirements within your day and generation, for it is seemingly incumbent on you to see that this is well provided for in the future. To accomplish this, it is your duty to educate the public aright in connection with the present great agitation. Your motives may be misconstrued, although, as you are aware, looking at the situation in a purely selfish way, it might be better for your stockholders to let the municipalities acquire your properties if they wish to do so.

Few would dare to suggest that American street railway properties should be confiscated, and were it attempted to carry out such a suggestion, the Constitution of the United States remains to prevent it. So it is reasonable to suppose that if municipalization of American street railways should be accomplished, their present owners must first be fully compensated therefor. This done, the investors in your properties would have little to complain of in a financial way. The question consequently becomes entirely one of public policy as to whether or not a better and cheaper service would be rendered under such a system than now obtains; whether the policy of constantly extending facilities could and would be continued, and whether or not the financial burdens involved would be more equitably distributed than now; and above all else, whether there would not be introduced into our American political system a corrupting influence and power far greater than any encountered in past American history.

You practically stand in the position of public advisors with a grave responsibility on your shoulders, as you have demonstrated that you are the most successful local transportation experts of the world.

Much has been said on the question of municipal ownership abroad, where it has made its greatest progress, so we must naturally look there for all the important experience that is available thereon. Distance lends enchantment to the view, but how much is really known in this country, or in fact elsewhere, as to the actual results that have been secured?

In the United Kingdom, where the greatest experience has been had, two special Parliamentary commissions have investigated the subject, and these commissions, as well as the Local Government Board, have apparently been unable to ascertain all the facts definitely. This is shown in their reports, which are lacking in recommendations other than that greater care should be exercised in the auditing of the accounts relating to municipal productive undertakings and that a more uniform system of accounting should be adopted.

While there is a superfluity of literature in existence on the subject, and while reports of municipally owned public utilities are available from Great

Britain and elsewhere in Europe, this material is of little value in forming conclusions here, either as to the actual net results that have been accomplished from municipal ownership and management in Europe, or on the feasibility of introducing the system here to advantage. To permit of proper comparisons being made and correct conclusions reached, two most important things must be done:

(1)—The account of those European municipalities which have made the most favorable showing for their reproductive undertakings (so-called) should be rearranged by expert American accountants in accordance with standard American practice, to the end that definite comparisons may be made with results obtained in this country by public utility companies.

(2)—A definite setting forth of differences in conditions between Europe and America should be made, showing those of every name or nature which have either a direct or indirect bearing on public utility service, such as suffrage, tenure of office, municipal methods, density of population, rates of wages, character of population, its use of public utilities, service rendered, etc.

With this material available and properly presented, it would be easy for the American public to form opinions and act in accordance with the best interests.

If our present system of caring for public utilities is wrong, the sooner such a situation is realized the better; *if it is right,* every good citizen should be placed in a position to conscientiously uphold it. In demonstrating the truth, the responsibility for ascertaining and promulgating it may rest upon you and your kindred associations.

Returning to the definition given early in this paper, as to the general methods adopted throughout the world for the creation and maintenance of public utilities, certain facts should be stated which have seemingly been demonstrated by experience everywhere.

The best of service for the present cannot be had, unless the future is anticipated, so far as financial investments are concerned. These necessary investments cannot and will not be made unless there is a permanent franchise for the investor, or its equivalent in the form of an agreement to take his investment off his hands at a stipulated time, for its value. Franchises for public utilities which are limited as to time, without provision for the purchase of the property involved at its full value, always and naturally mean poor service in the later years of the existence of the franchise. These facts should be constantly borne in mind on considering British tramway conditions of the past and present, and in contrasting them with similar conditions here.

British tramway companies have, and have had, very limited franchises. Britain is a country where the theory of vested rights, and due compensation therefor, has been carried to the furthest degree on everything excepting tramways. A few years since British owners were awakened with a shock to a realization of the fact that, in addition to the severe restrictions under which they had labored, at the expiration of the franchises they were at the mercy of the respective municipalities where their properties were located in regard to their disposal, and that values which they had created were to be practically ignored. What but poor service and neglect of repairs and maintenance

could result on a property whose franchise had nearly expired? At the expiration of the franchise the municipality slipped in, with the equivalent of an exclusive perpetual franchise, taking the existing property, or so much as it wished, at a nominal valuation; with its municipal credit available to raise capital so far as Parliament approved, with the results of a tax rate to make good deficiencies, with very few restrictions, and with the experience of America in electric traction, which had cost us here hundreds of millions of dollars to develop, as a guide in the construction of an up-to-date street railway system.

Under these conditions, it is not strange that municipal ownership and management of street railways in Great Britain is able to make a somewhat favorable showing as contrasted with company ownership and management there in the past. What American street railway management could not have accomplished wonders under like conditions?

While the municipalities of the United Kingdom enjoy exclusive perpetual franchises, and the other advantages recited for conducting a successful street railway business, with few exceptions they are prohibited from constructing lines beyond their municipal boundaries. In consequence, the essential is lacking for constructing systems radiating out through the surrounding districts, and thus affording the public the facilities and services which it requires and which would tend to redistribute the population, as has been done about every American city. With very few exceptions, the British municipalities have opposed the construction of suburban and interurban lines to connect with their municipal streets railway systems, and in only two or three cases in the entire United Kingdom have trackage rights for such systems been granted over municipal lines, or have they been permitted to enter municipalities where the tramways were under municipal control.

Not only has the great essential to a most important public utility, *i. e.*, the best possible service, been prevented, but in the method of adjusting fares the fact has apparently been lost sight of that one of the greatest advantages which can arise to a community from its street railway system, is in encouraging its poorer classes to reside in its suburbs under more healthful conditions than is possible in crowded tenements within the city; because, while charging lower fares for shorter distances than the universal American fare, for greater distances the British rate is higher than in this country, and no transfers are given in Great Britain.

So far as the British municipal tramways are concerned, it is safe to say that an American syndicate could be organized which would give each and all British municipalities a better service than they now have, providing the syndicate were simply permitted to enjoy the same franchise privileges, and this without calling for a dollar of public funds to accomplish such results. It would seem, therefore, as if the one argument in favor of municipal ownership of street railways would be the profit which the municipalities may derive from operation. Let us glance at what the results have so far been in this respect.

In 1904 there was invested in all the tramways, municipal and company, of the United Kingdom, practically $232,000,000, of which about $140,000,000 was the direct investment of the municipalities.

Upon the above investment practically $1,438,000 was directly paid as taxes by the municipalities and tramway companies. Of this presumably, however, about $790,000 was paid as national income tax, leaving the amount paid for municipal taxation about $538,000. To this should be added not over $150,000 paid as municipal taxes by the holders of tramway companies' securities; also $1,035,000 contributed to the respective public treasuries by municipal tramways as earnings.

So the total financial benefits which British municipalities derived as taxes from the operation of all street railways in Great Britain, and in which their funds to the amount of $140,000,000 were invested, was $1,723,000.

For the same fiscal year the street railways of the State of New York paid directly as State and municipal taxes $2,656,233.74. Considering that the individual holders of street railway securities issued in this State contributed as personal taxes thereon at the low rate of three-fourths of one per cent on the face value of their securities, they turned into our public treasuries $3,516,000. That is, the total financial benefits which the people of the State of New York have derived from street railway taxation for this year was $6,172,233, and this without the investment of a dollar of public fund in the properties.

Under the British system, on the 1st of July, 1904, there were in operation but 2,900 miles of street railway track in the entire United Kingdom. At the same time in the United States there were in operation over 31,000 miles of track.

In Great Britain alone there were but 2,529 miles for a population of over 37,000,000. In this Empire State, with a population of, say, 7,500,000, there were at the same time 3,062 miles of track.

In Great Britain the average population per mile of track was approximately 14,630; in this State it was approximately 2,375.

In Great Britain 183,352,706 car-miles were run and 1,712,424,198 passengers carried; in New York State 199,767,097 car-miles were run and 1,341,766,931 passengers carried. From this it is seen that the average passengers carried per car-mile were 9.34 in Great Britain, and in New York State 6.71. In this connection it should not be forgotten that the average American street car is 50 per cent longer and much heavier than the corresponding English car.

The above facts tell their own story as regards facilities and service afforded the public.

Now for a glimpse of results from operation, which may demonstrate the comparative ability shown by British street railway managers and those of the Empire State.

As is well known, the rates of salaries and wages paid on British municipal tramways is not over one-half those paid in this State.

In the fiscal year of 1904 the tramways in Great Britain earned from operation $40,690,000 in round figures; the operating expenses, excluding taxes, were approximately $25,510,000, leaving net earnings from operation $15,180,000; from which it will be seen that the percentage of operating expenses to gross earnings was 62.7.

The street railways of New York earned from operation $51,964,744, and their operating expenses were $31,397,623, leaving net earnings from operation $20,567,122, such operating expenses being 60.42 per cent of gross earnings from operation.

In the operating expenses for the street railways of New York State are included $19,812,227 paid for salaries and wages. If the rates were the same here as those paid in Great Britain, and the present efficiency of employees maintained, it is clearly apparent that New York street railways could afford to give still greater facilities to the public than is now possible, or could pay much larger dividends.

For traffic expense, as it is termed there, or operation of cars, as it is designated by our railroad commissioners, the average expense in Great Britain is about 6.28 cents per car-mile. In this State this average expense is approximately 7.35 cents, or a difference against us of 1.7 cents; but as approximately 70 per cent of this particular expense in America is represented by wages, it is seen at a glance how much more efficiently American managers utilize their high-priced transportation labor.

It is obvious that on the recently reconstructed tramway lines of Great Britain present repairs and maintenance are less than they will be a few years hence, and it is to be questioned if this has been duly considered by their management.

The expenditures in 1904 for track line and car repairs and maintenance there were approximately $4,150,000, averaging $1,645 per mile of track and 2.26 cents per car-mile. In New York State the total expenditure for similar repairs and maintenance was $6,049,054, averaging $1,975 per mile of track and 3.03 cents per car-mile.

In all probability we have not yet reached our maximum expense for repairs and maintenance. Naturally Great Britain must go through this same experience, and as these expenses increase one of three things must happen in Great Britain: either fares must be increased, payments to sinking funds that have been created to pay indebtedness incurred for tramway development cannot be made, or the deficits paid out of public funds raised from taxation.

As to how serious the question of local indebtedness and consequent taxation is at present in the United Kingdom, it should be stated that the total indebtedness at the present time is practically $1,800,000,000, an increase of about $1,000,000,000 in thirty years.

In England and Wales alone, from 1884 to 1900, the population had increased but approximately 18 per cent; taxable valuation had increased but 21 per cent; local indebtedness, however, had increased about 78 per cent, and the rate of local taxation had increased about 73 per cent. Over half the increase of local indebtedness has resulted from the embarkation of municipalities in what is there known as municipal trading, i. e., purchase and operation of public utilities and similar enterprises.

The present financial condition of certain British municipalities on such matters is seemingly not unlike that which existed two or three decades ago in the United States, where municipalities, counties and States pledged their credit

to aid in the construction of railroads and other similar enterprises, which eventually resulted in financial disaster. It would not be strange if, in many instances, time would show a like final result in Great Britain.

Do we here in America wish to profit by our past experience, or return to one of the most unfortunate episodes in our local financial history through a little different channel? At the same time, do we wish also to add to the strength of local political machines by transforming independent, self-respecting American workingmen into an army of municipal employes, which must follow the dictation of some local boss? This should not come unless there be some great compensating advantage not yet apparent from European experience with municipal ownership and management of public utilities.

Municipal Trading.

By Samuel Morse, J.P.

Extract from an Address Before the Battersea Municipal Alliance, Battersea, England, January 24, 1905.

Although the subject of trading by municipalities may not excite the same interest as some of the political questions of the time, it is one of the deepest importance to the country. It affects all classes. Capital and labor are equally interested in the solution of the problems which it raises, and there is not an individual in the country to whom it is not a matter of vital interest. Municipal trading threatens the foundations of our commercial system under which the nation has grown great and powerful in the past, and upon which the continuance of our prosperity depends. The industrial and social changes which the system will effect, if unchecked, will be of the most serious character; and therefore the enormous proportions which it has assumed in recent years make it necessary that the public should fully understand the real scope of its aims and objects.

For what is Municipal Trading? It is the expenditure of capital upon, and the management of, a trading undertaken by a local government body. This body is composed to a great extent of men who have no experience in the conduct of large business enterprises, and who have no adequate understanding of the means by which commercial undertakings are built up and conducted. Even if the necessary experience and ability existed, the ordinary work of local government is more than enough to occupy the time at the disposal of the members, and their private duties make it impossible for them to give the requisite attention to the successful conduct of a commercial undertaking. It must also be remembered that councils are not elected *ad hoc*. The members are continually changed by the electors, and no business can be successfully conducted without the continuous attention of the same directing mind. Nor are the members who conduct the business undertakings of local bodies elected directly with that view. The question of municipal trading never comes before the voters as a separate and distinct issue. It is mixed up at election times with diverse subjects, and probably a member is elected because of his views on education, or tariff reform, or Chinese labor, or any exciting political question of the hour.

It is nevertheless contended by municipal traders that such a body will

somehow be able to initiate and maintain large undertakings with striking success. Men who are not elected for the purpose, and who have neither the experience nor the capacity, nor the time, will be equally fitted to conduct vast business schemes as men of the widest experience, of commanding commercial ability, and who give their whole time to the work. The idea is as ludicrous as anything in the pages of "Alice in Wonderland," and it will be interesting to see a little later on in this address how the theory looks in the clear light of practical results.

Another assumption of the municipal traders is that their trading will be done in the interests of the whole country, and that only those businesses will be undertaken which supply goods required by every member of the community. It is undoubtedly true that many of the duties performed by local authorities do affect the whole population. Public health, for example, is a matter which affects the interests of every citizen. It is of the utmost importance for our welfare that our houses should be in a sanitary condition, that our food should be pure, our streets clean, our roads in repair, our sewers in good condition. These are all matters which vitally concern every one of us, and if local authorities confined themselves to these, the true objects of local government, they would meet with nothing but approval.

But one of the first things entered upon by the supporters of municipal trading was the generation and supply of electric light. Now, electric light is not a necessity for every member of the community. It is not the business of any one to see that I use electricity, or gas, or oil, in my house, or even if I use any form of artificial light at all. And yet this continues to be one of the favorite trades of local authorities, and has now grown to such an extent that, in the United Kingdom, up to March, 1904, nearly £27,000,000 has been invested by public bodies in the generation of electricity.

I now come to consider the results of this new departure. Various trades have been carried on by municipalities and other public bodies for some considerable time, and it is therefore now possible to subject the predictions of municipal traders to the tests of undoubted facts. I have just stated that a sum of nearly £27,000,000 had been invested by local authorities in the United Kingdom, in one department of trade alone—that of the generation of electricity. It would be reasonable to expect that this amount, if employed in any business undertaking by private capitalists, would yield an annual profit of at least £1,500,000. A no less favorable result would certainly ensue in the case of the municipalities if the dreams of municipal traders were realized, but we find that in place of a huge profit for the rate-payers, there was actually a loss of £80,000 last year in regard to over one-third of the undertakings. Even this amount, serious as it is, does not reveal the real deficiency. The actual loss is minimized by setting aside on the average only one per cent for depreciation. In only a few cases was the amount for depreciation adequate. In the majority of instances no provision whatever was made for the wear and tear of machinery, which will probably be used up before the loans to the local authorities have expired. If we take a more extensive survey, the same disastrous consequences appear. An official return was issued to show the figures relating to the reproductive undertakings of Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, for the four years up to 1902. On referring to this return, you will find that for these four years there was a total capital expenditure of £121,000,000. This gigantic amount was managed with so little judgment that it yielded a profit of only 6s. 3d. per £100. A dividend of less than one-third of one per cent would be regarded by shareholders with anything but satisfaction, and with less satisfaction if it was discovered that even that result was brought about by reserving only 0.16 of one per cent for depreciation. Business men who conducted their affairs with judgment and prudence would not be content with the 0.16 of one per cent which satisfied the

municipal corporations, and would not set aside less than 2½ per cent for the purpose of depreciation. And if this course, which ordinary caution requires, had been followed, the profit, small as it is, would disappear, and a loss be shown of no less than £2 5s. per £100 of capital expenditure, or in all, £2,722,500.

It will be useful to turn from the consideration of the figures applying to the whole country, and look at the resul s in a single borough. Battersea has been called the "Mecca of Socialism," and as socialism is at the root of municipal trading, it is here, if anywhere, that we should expect to find a brilliant vindication of the new system of trading. It is, therefore, with some curiosity that one turns to see how much has been spent by Battersea upon its electric lighting undertaking, and the amount of the profits which has gone to reduce the rates and benefit the public. We find that the undertaking has cost £195,345, and when we come to look for profits we discover none, but, on the contrary, a loss of over £12,000. Out of a population of 175,000, or, taking five persons to the family, 35,000 families, there are only 230 families, or, say, 1,150 persons, who take the electric light. It is evident, therefore, that a large number of the rate-payers in Battersea, as in other districts, must pay a large proportion of the cost of the light which they themselves have not had, but which 1,150 persons have enjoyed at their expense. The theory that you are to pay for what other people may get may recommend itself to municipal trading doctrinaires, but it would be curious to know how it is regarded by the level-headed rate-payers of Battersea. A few figures will show at a glance the price which these unfortunate rate-payers have had to pay for the adoption of this wonderful method of conducting business. In 1889 the ratable value of the borough was £689,000, the rate was 5s. 8½d. in the pound, and the debt was a modest £37,000. In the space of fifteen years—that is in 1904—although the ratable value had increased £1,021,-115, the rate had increased to 8s. 2d. in the pound, while the debt of £37,000 had grown to £660,696, and is still becoming larger.

Sir Robert Griffen, in a recent article in "The Contemporary Review," has drawn public attention to the dangers of this growth of local expenditure, which is to be attributed mainly to the requirements of local authorities in connection with their new commercial undertakings. Sir Robert points out a very important fact which is apt to be overlooked—that Imperial expenditure and the expenditure of local authorities are supported by the same taxable resources, and that the more one takes from the common fund the less there is for the other to draw upon. A question of Imperial concern is thus raised by one of the necessary results of municipal trading. For the above principle applies to the resource of credit, as well as to the other, and if local authorities borrow a great deal, the credit of the State must be so much restricted. The real danger of the position will be apparent when I state that the local expenditure of the United Kingdom grew from £36,000,000 in 1860 to £144,000,000 in 1901-2—an increase of £108,000,000. In a little more than forty years, therefore, the expenditure of local authorities had been quadrupled. The total local indebtedness at this period was £412,000,000, and nothing requires to be added to impress upon you the importance of that significant figure.

The whole financial condition of the country is being affected by the position which is disclosed by these statistics. The increase in the rates and enormous growth of local indebtedness have necessarily resulted in a general dearness of money, and the easy flow of capital upon which the prosperity of trade depends has been arrested. Public securities have declined in value. Confidence in local authorities has been shaken, and loans to local authorities can consequently only be obtained at an increased rate of interest. Increased interest necessarily means increased rates, and as local authorities must of necessity borrow for the proper purposes of local government, it is of the greatest importance that these loans should not be complicated by additional loans for the purpose of trading under-

takings. When new loans are issued, however, by local authorities, no distinction is drawn between loans for ordinary purposes of local government and those for trading concerns. The same rate of interest has to be paid in each case, and therefore the indebtedness on trading concerns is now reacting to the detriment of the rate-payers, even when the loan is raised for the objects legitimately within the scope of local government.

This growing confusion in local finance, with all its ramifications in the directions of Imperial affairs and throughout our whole industrial structure, amounting to a "real disease of local government," is no doubt caused to a great extent by the composition of modern public bodies. Men who are accustomed to deal with large affairs, and who understand the complexities of great financial arrangements, are not found to any great extent on our councils. They are for the most part engaged in undertakings similar to those carried on by the corporations, and cannot be expected to spend their time in competing against themselves. The services of these men, which would prove so valuable in the important legitimate duties of local government, are therefore lost to the country. The places which such men ought to fill are taken by others, who are quite unfitted to control the large interests entrusted to their care. The inevitable consequences follow. We have, as Sir Robert Giffen says, "an expenditure that is partly extravagant and unnecessary because local authorities are frequently bad managers, even where they are not corrupt. They spend money on what is not really wanted; they spend more than they ought on what happens to be necessary; they incur liabilities and burden the future with a light heart. Expenditure is pleasant to those who have a little brief authority, and the increase of the number of urban authorities increases the number of those who may enjoy the pleasure."

I am of the opinion that the only effective remedy is to prevent local authorities from trading at all. The legislators who brought municipalities into being clearly understood the objects of local government, and, if confined to these limits, men of ability and experience will no doubt be willing to again take up the work, and restore to local government that wise, economical and efficient administration which conferred so many advantages on the country in the past. Rates will be lowered, financial stability will be secured, the credit of the country will be improved, trade will be favorably affected, the community will be saved from risks inseparable from the conduct of large undertakings, and the whole position of local authorities will in every respect be rendered stronger.

Private enterprise has hitherto shown the way, and must, I believe, continue to do so in the future. It is perhaps not always perfect when brought into close relations with the public, but there are means by which authorities can protect the interests of the public. When their consent is sought to the establishment of a monopoly in their districts, they should have the power to insist that the best system shall be employed, that reasonable charges should be made for the commodity, that proper wages should be paid to the employes, that the interest paid to shareholders should be limited to a certain rate, and that the surplus should be utilized for specific purposes. Provisions of this character will be an ample guarantee that the public interests will not suffer, while the risks now being run will be avoided, and the increase of debt which, if continued, is bound to end in disaster, will be checked.

The only difficulty in bringing about such a result is the strange apathy of the public. The evils of the present system of municipal trading are plain and unmistakable if the facts are examined. Once the public is awakened to these facts, and to their bearing on national and individual welfare, the necessity for action will be realized, and the movement for the extinction of this baneful system become irresistible.—*Street Railway Review*, June 15, 1905.

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. NOVEMBER, 1905 No. 4

The Annual Meeting of the League will be held on Thursday, November 9, at 11 a. m., at the City Club, 55-57 West 44th Street.

KATHERINE T. RHODES,
Assistant Secretary

Why New York Women Stand Back of William Travers Jerome.

WILLIAM TRAVERS JEROME, the people's candidate for District Attorney, stands for freedom from political bosses. So strong are his feelings upon this one subject, so fearless are his utterances, that his attitude has been called the "Second Declaration of Independence."

What does this freedom mean? That there is no candidate upon the Republican ticket who does not owe his nomination to Mr. Odell, none on the Democratic ticket without Mr. Murphy's approval. The delegates to the conventions that were supposed to select the candidates for district attorney did not know the candidates' names until they were sent in with instructions to vote for them.

Why is Mr. Jerome not endorsed by the bosses? Because he has come out squarely as "no man's man." With characteristic consistency, he refused endorsements if they carried the idea that he must support a machine nominee. The working people of this city know that work for a *leader* permits individual development and expression, but that work for a *boss* means suppression of liberty of thought, independence of action, and often the subjection to indignities and commands which they would repel under other conditions.

The influence of women is with their representative voter. There are many thousands of women in this community who are training their sons to a right

use of the franchise power. There are many women, interested in public affairs, who are striving for the best development and protection of women and children. Their power in a great fight like this lies in their ability to influence individual voters—fathers, brothers, husbands, sons. If the influence of these women cannot outweigh the sway of the bosses, this training is wasted. Are the men who represent these women voting for Mr. Jerome? Are they working for the best interests of the city? Ask them.

Mr. Jerome stands for the best manhood of the city,—brave and honest. He has fulfilled his public trust. This independent attitude has inspiration and hope for the young men entering upon public life,—full of enthusiasm, and energy, and honest ambition. The defeat of Mr. Jerome means that these young men can follow their ambition for public service only through the mire of the political machine. Mr. Jerome is making the fight for their freedom, and his victory will strengthen honorable political ambitions. It will mean that mothers need not fear that the lives of their sons will be ruined by doing the will of the bosses, nor that they must become traitors to those who have helped them to success; they need not dread the orgies of world-wise politicians, through which their sons must go in order to "stand in for promotion."

Mr. Jerome stands alone, with only individuals to back him in his fight. The strongest men in the city have declared for him. The strongest women should also be found standing clearly and understandingly for the ideals which he represents. Mr. Jerome's cause is not a political issue. Women who do their utmost for him are not going into politics; they are working for the protection of their homes, their boys, their city, their country; not for a candidate or for a a party.

What has Mr. Jerome meant to the homes over which women preside in the city of New York during the four years he has been district attorney? He stands on his record, not on promises. The women of New York should know this record. Read it, and then ask the voter who represents you if he is for Jerome.

Jerome and the Children:—Do the women of New York remember the Child Labor law and the demands for enforcement? The records of the district attorney's office are open to everyone, and every mother and sister ought to be able to tell the voters who do not know what his work for children means. When the people demanded the reason for the non-enforcement of the Child Labor law, the Commissioner of Labor gave, among other excuses, that he could get no one to prosecute the cases. To whom did they turn to protect the childhood of the county of New York? To Mr. Jerome! And what happened? Not excuses! Not too busy! But an assistant was immediately assigned to this work. He is on duty in Special Sessions, and any complaint receives his immediate attention, and employers who had hitherto evaded the law are now complaining bitterly because of its enforcement.

Who broke up the boys' gangs on the East Side? The terrorism caused by these gangs has not been forgotten. The thievery, wanton destruction of property, insults to innocent passers-by, street fights, petty gambling and immoral

practices were a terror to the residents. Policemen were defied and laughed at. When these facts were brought to Mr. Jerome, what did he do? Has the public forgotten the Monk Eastman gang and the ten-year sentence this leader received? These gangs had numbers of small boys who "fagged" for them, and were being coached in all kinds of evil. Mr. Jerome not only convicted the Fagins and sports and disreputable idlers who were ruining these boys, but he sent for the small boys' parents and talked to them about their negligence, and explained the dangers! Have the parents and teachers of these boys, and the small property holders, and the people on the public highways of the East Side any assurance that any other district attorney will take a sympathetic interest in the small boy victims and punish the real culprits?

The Unemployed.—There are in this city 500 employment agencies to which more than 100,000 women go yearly in search of employment. Half as many housewives go to them to find workers. The employment agency law secured by the Woman's Municipal League protects these houseworkers from frauds and impositions, and from being sent to disorderly places as inmates and servants. It protects the housewives from having thieves, immoral women, and imposters sent into their homes to work.

Although the enforcement of this law is vested in a city department, it has been necessary to ask Mr. Jerome's aid, and he at once assigned an assistant to take up all cases of poor men and women who, in search of work, had suffered at the hands of these agents, and who could not secure a hearing or rights elsewhere. Would a Tammany district attorney do what a Tammany Commissioner had refused, or had not dared to do? Besides the complaints that he has heard, the known fact that he stood ready to help, has protected many a poor helpless man or woman out of work. The employment agents know that no district leader has been big enough, no political pull strong enough, to delay a case, even for a day, when once it has been taken up by the district attorney's office.

Protection of Women.—The Raines Law Hotels are a menace to every woman in New York City. The Committee of Fourteen of the City Club has secured decisions against 100 of them, but, confronted with all manner of legal technicalities and evasions, in spite of the most faithful work, they have actually closed only ten. To whom has the appeal been made for the enforcement of these decisions? To the court of the last resort, which blocks Tammany's complete control of the city,—the District Attorney's office.

This fight is just beginning, and if Mr. Jerome is not elected, who will take up the task of closing some of the 2,000 notorious resorts which are a menace to every boy and girl in the homes of this city? Who is obstructing the way of the enforcement of the present law? Where does some of the campaign fund being used to defeat Mr. Jerome come from, and can the man elected by that fund be "no man's man," when the question of Raines Law Hotels is put squarely up to him?

The sections of the city, which at the time of Mr. Jerome's last campaign were unsafe for women, have been made far more secure. A man living in

one of the former red light districts said "he guessed he would not vote for Jerome this year." "How about Houston Street where you live?" he was asked, "is it better?" "Well, yes, it's pretty clean now." "How about your wife and children, are they afraid of the toughs there?" "Why no, they go about 'most anywhere now." "Who do you think is responsible for this change?" "Well, I hadn't thought,—I guess it's Jerome. Got any extra buttons?"

What a contrast there is between the district attorney's method and work and the present apparent activity of the police! What is the public sentiment aroused against the police by their arrests of innocent women, and what is their purpose in making such arrests? Their present policy is to arrest honest women and disorderly women at the same time and thus arouse the wrath of the magistrates to such an extent that they are refusing to make convictions because they feel that it is better for ten disorderly women to remain unmolested than that one innocent woman should suffer! The raids and arrests of the police are farces, designed to give color to the old Tammany plea: "Why take cases to the magistrates when they will not convict!"

The fact for women to recognize is that, in spite of police protection of disorderly houses, graft and inadequate laws, Mr. Jerome has made the once notorious districts less of an open menace to the home. Who cares to run the risk of a term with a Tammany district attorney in order to learn by contrast the extent of the dangers which Mr. Jerome prevents?

Political Leeches:—The present boss system of politics protects a type of political leeches who live off the poor ignorant working women, and newly-arrived immigrants. Under various guises, and by many methods, they pursue their petty grafting. They secure special policeman privileges as watchmen of buildings, and then use their clubs and badges for extortion, or to secure "hush money." They get Commissioner of Deeds permits, and then, posing as lawyers, offer to "fix things" for people who commit crimes, or they bully them into paying large sums to escape punishment for some trivial offense. They belong to the various political clubs, so that they can boast of their "party pull," and use this as a means of getting money to settle cases. Politicians and officials have been asked to curtail the power of these leeches, and have refused, or have said, "Wait until after election."

But this is another of the species of graft on which Mr. Jerome is now working. Not only has he prosecuted the big lawyers who cheat their clients, not only the shysters, but also the political leeches without legal standing. No other district attorney has ever lived near enough to the people, to really find out the practices of these leeches. Shall we help him to continue this fight?

Let us show you a few of the dangers to the poor if these practices are not stopped. And for every one we tell you, there are scores of others to be found on the records at the district attorney's office.

A poor working girl loaned a man $25, which he was unable to pay, when she asked for it. One of these leeches found out about it and with his policeman's badge threatened this man with arrest. By this means he secured

the $25, paid the girl $13, and collected $5 from the man who borrowed it—$17 for collecting a loan of $25.

A poor Hungarian girl married a man, had two children, and then found he had a wife in Hungary. She left the man as soon as she knew this, and tried to get some support from him for her children, as she was unable to work. One of these leeches took $18 from this woman to help her get this support, and then went to the man and demanded hush money.

A woman was assaulted by a man for refusing to go out and begin a life of shame for him. She was sent to one of these leeches for protection. He took $10 from her to prosecute the man, and $15 from him for protection.

Two innocent young girls fell into the hands of a notorious procurer, known as "one of the Kings of 14th Street." When they succeeded in escaping, they were told that one of these political leeches could protect them. He caused the arrest of an innocent man and of this notorious procurer, but told the girls to "go easy with 'the King of 14th Street,'" the chief offender, and put the blame on the other man. This leech then settled with "the King of 14th Street," and the innocent man is serving a sentence, while the real criminal goes free. Since these facts became known, the girls have been spirited away by this leech, and efforts are being made to find them in order to secure the release of the innocent man.

Gambling and Policy Shops:—Wives and mothers realize, as no others can, the destructive influence of gambling. They know that more evils attend it than any other vice, and, for that reason, the women appreciate the debt they owe to William Travers Jerome for breaking up the possibility of its easy practice.

The suffering of a mother whose nights are haunted by the fear that her son is recklessly playing at Canfield's fashionable resort may be of a different quality from that of the mother who sees her support squandered in pool-room betting, or the pennies that should give her children food and clothing going to the policy shop, but one's feeling is quite as intense as the other's.

Three hundred pool-rooms were in full blast when Mr. Jerome was made District Attorney; now not one is run openly!

At Richard Canfield's enough money changed hands in one year to maintain all the New York hospitals, but, to-day, Canfield and his manager, Bucklin, stand convicted.

Almost single handed, Mr. Jerome has made the fight. His opportunity of securing evidence was blocked by a law on the books, which gave the witness the privilege of refusing to answer Jerome's questioning. What seemed like a stone wall did not daunt him.

The Dowling Act was passed and is a most important weapon. It enables the state to obtain the needed information, and subjects the one refusing it to imprisonment, and now the gamblers are forced to come to Mr. Jerome when he calls.

Policy, a betting game affecting thousands of poor of all ages, was effectively broken up by Mr. Jerome's securing the conviction of the Policy King, "Al" Adams, who served one year in State's Prison. It is significant and equally to the credit of Mr. Jerome that all efforts to get him out of prison failed.

Swindlers of the Poor:—The poor have one powerful ally in Mr. Jerome. No scheme for their undoing has been too intricate for him to follow up, nor has the end come yet. There were over ten thousand sufferers among the very poor when the Federal Bank closed its doors; their bank accounts averaged

$150 each, and represented in many instances the savings of a lifetime. Politicians were on the list of bank directors, but nothing stopped William Travers Jerome from sending the bank's president and his lawyer to State's Prison. The lesson of this speedy justice has done much toward putting a stop to similar crimes. Others in positions of trust remember Rothschild and Wooten, and take no risks while Mr. Jerome is in office.

Mr. Jerome is the "first aid" to the victimized. It is to him they go, not to the Mayor or the Police Commissioner, and the reason for it is not hard to find. Those who had been robbed by the Franklin Syndicate, which promised a return of 520 per cent. on an investment, knew that they had in a measure themselves to thank for the swindle, but they knew also that in the District Attorney's office they could find a man "who understood" that a swindler gets a ready listener to schemes which promise good returns to those who feel the need of money, because it means bread, or coal, or clothes—life's absolute necessaries.

The temptations of the poor Mr. Jerome understands, and for those who trade on them he has contempt and righteous indignation. To-day those who participated in the Franklin scheme are either fugitives or, like "Bob" Ammon, are looking out upon the world through prison bars.

Effective Legislation Due to Jerome:—The loopholes of the law are known in great measure to the District Attorney. Those who have preceded Mr. Jerome in this position have been content to leave things as they were, nor would they busy themselves with needed reforms.

Our present District Attorney works overtime and outside of the purely technical boundaries of his office. His knowledge of affairs makes him the valuable champion of every class of citizens, and Mr. Jerome has awakened the Legislature to the dangers of ineffective legislation.

He is the author of the most powerful weapon ever put in a prosecuting officer's hands—The Dowling Act. What has been accomplished by reason of it?

Previous to 1905, a witness might be in possession of facts sufficient to convict a suspected person, but those facts were safely locked up in the witness' mind, and to all questioning he could brazenly reply: "I refuse to answer, on the ground that it would incriminate me." For example, a list of patrons' names might be found in a pool-room; each one, upon being questioned as to the owner and character of the resort, could refuse to make any statement, on the ground that his answer might make him, in a measure, a participant.

The Dowling Act makes wrongdoers answer, and uses their replies, not against them, but in pursuit of the "bigger game." This law forced Canfield and Bucklin to plead guilty, rather than allow the wealthy frequenters of their place to be put to Jerome's merciless questioning. It sent the hundred other gamblers to the District Attorney's office to give up their gambling apparatus and leave the state.

The practice of "failing rich," as it is known, has been broken up by new legislation, which compels debtors to produce their books and prove their solvency, and puts an end to a swindling merchant's scheme to obtain goods under false pretences and defraud the seller of both his goods and his just payment. The new act is a searchlight on a man's business methods, and Mr. Jerome turned on the light.

His clear-sighted policy is not confined to merely constructive work, and his insight into a real situation was conclusively demonstrated by his help in stopping what would have proved a Tammany landslide of power.

The Commissioner of Licenses in *apparent* good faith urged the passage of a law making his office the place where all complaints in regard to Employment Agency Law enforcement must first be lodged. (Assembly Bill 1556.) Had it passed, the Tammany Commissioner would have been sole arbiter, and the citizen interested in the welfare of workers, and the laboring people themselves, could not have gone directly to the District Attorney and the Magistrates.

Thank Jerome for killing this wolf in sheep's clothing, and give him credit for real farsightedness.

Jerome has taught us the far-reaching effect of "what is everybody's business has been nobody's business," and nothing has kept him from making what concerns the people's welfare distinctly a matter of the District Attorney's business!

Jerome a Man of the People:—Perhaps the greatest good that Mr. Jerome has conferred on all alike, is that he has made the District Attorney's office a *known quantity.* To those unfamiliar with the routine of our prosecuting attorney's office, the approach to it has, up to this time, been one of dread.

Mr. Jerome has changed all this. He has taught all classes alike that he is a public servant, hedged in by no formalities; that he is accessible at all times and in all ways; that the woman with a shawl over her head is sure of the same courteous treatment that would be accorded to her wealthy sister. He has removed the bugbear of the law. The business of his office extends only to criminal work, but the ordinary citizen has no means of knowing what his case may be. If it is not a matter for the District Attorney, the proper advice is given; and curt refusals to take up outside matters, once the regular order of the office, have been done away with.

The District Atorney is a man of the people. He lives in the densely-populated East Side district, and at his home, 3 Rutgers Street, he has established, in connection with the District Attorney's office, a complaint bureau. This is open every evening from seven to nine, and those who are busy during the day can come then. It is in charge of a deputy assistant district attorney, who has also a stenographer and interpreter there.

At last, Mr. Jerome has solved the problem of putting help within the reach of those who otherwise are powerless to aid themselves. How better could his democracy be shown? What untold harm will come if the new-born trust in the fair dealing of the District Attorney's office is to be killed by the substitution of a person who does not know the methods which the people have come to believe in!

What Jerome Has Not Done:—The best answer to Murphy's statements of what Mr. Jerome has not done, is not only to tell what he has done to doubters, but to ask Tammany itself *why* Mr. Jerome could not do the things it accuses him of neglecting. Who better than Murphy can name the office-holders in New York City who have blocked reforms, and received bribes, and made the work of the *independent* District Attorney's office difficult? Tammany has thousands of dollars and hundreds of devices for clogging the wheels of justice, and the best answer to what Mr. Jerome has not done, is what Tammany has been doing.

Before any person has the right to make even trifling criticism against another's conduct, he should himself have a knowledge of the facts, as the basis from which to hurl a charge. What are the facts?

The Slocum Disaster:—As soon as the news reached the city that the steamship "Slocum," carrying hundreds of women and children, had run aground and was burning, an assistant district attorney hurried to the scene. All that day and night, and all the next day, Jerome's trusted lieutenant worked faithfully and well, gathering every possible bit of information and evidence. Then came the question who could best punish the offenders. This was a matter for the legal judgment of Mr. Jerome, for two Courts had power to punish the offenders; the Federal Court—that is, the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, and the Criminal Court of our own county. The district attorney's decision was in favor of sending the case to the Federal Court, and so far, what have they done? The United States Grand Jury has found indictments against the captain of the steamer, the commodore of the fleet, and the president and two officers of the corporation. The evidence which they used was the evidence gathered by the District Attorney of New York County, and how complete and valuable it was can be judged by the result.

The Tunnel Disaster:—The work of gathering evidence against those responsible for the terrible accident which occurred in the New York Central Tunnel was pushed rapidly by the District Attorney's office.

When that seemed more than enough to warrant indictments for criminal negligence against the officials of that road, in accordance with law, the entire state of facts was brought carefully to the Grand Jury's attention. Three times Mr. Jerome besought them to find indictments against what seemed to him the real culprits, but the Grand Jury refused, and found only against Wisker, the engineer. Without an indictment, the District Attorney is powerless to act; why then accuse him for the actions of others? With the blame thus focussed on one man, Wisker, the case against him proceeded. What happened? The jury disagreed. Why? Because the feeling was that he was made the scapegoat for others. Why not be honest with ourselves, and place the blame on those of us who are neglectful of our jury duty?

The Darlington Disaster:—So fast was the prosecution in this case pushed by Mr. Jerome that the blame for the whole affair was shown to rest on one man. He saw his danger, and although out on bail, he chose to become a fugitive and now lives in the city of Mexico, where the hands of our law are powerless to reach.

The Continuance of Police "Graft:"—Just a word, to advise those ignorant of the governing law regarding disorderly places. The regular way for the District Attorney to act is on the complaints of private citizens, and if you have reason to believe that a disreputable house exists in your neighborhood, and are willing to stand by your belief, even if it leads you into the giving up of your time, then file your complaint with the District Attorney.

Why should the blame for police corruption come upon any one save upon the police, the Police Commissioner, and the Mayor who put him there, and last, but not least, upon the people who are willing to keep in office men who dare not act except at a boss's bidding!

THESE ARE FACTS. WE HAVE THE PROOFS.
WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO HELP ELECT

WILLIAM TRAVERS JEROME?

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. DECEMBER, 1905 No. 5

The regular Monthly Meeting of the League will be held on Thursday, December 14, at 11 a. m., at the City Club, 55 West 44th Street.

MR. JOHN J. MURPHY, *Secretary of the Citizens' Union*, will speak on "Ballot Reform."

FRANCES SCHROEDER BOULTON,
Secretary.

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All Communications should be sent to THE WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE,
Room 1509, 31 Union Square, West

Extract from President's Annual Report.

The brevity of the campaign which has just closed distinguishes it from any others in which we have taken part quite as much as the fact that the Woman's Municipal League was only working for Mr. Jerome and not, as heretofore, for the entire municipal ticket.

On Wednesday, October 18, the Campaign Committee briefly outlined the sub-committees which would be necessary. I wish to call attention to the fact that we have had the splendid co-operation of Mrs. Nathan, President of the Consumers' League, the use of the offices and entire staff of the Inter-Municipal Committee on Household Research and the rooms of the League for Political Education. This co-operation is inestimable and marks the progress toward unification, which is the aim of all who work in different ways to improve conditions in the municipality. Courtesy and confidence distinguished our affiliation with the Jerome Nominators. We have never before had so much work offered to us. Verifying the posters, the repeated requests for watchers and speakers, the overwhelming reception given to the BULLETIN, Mrs. Nathan's pioneer work in introducing ballot instruction to employees are the most important, as they are the most interesting, of our fulfilled labors. Without campaign headquarters, for our contributions did not warrant any expenditure for rental, we have still maintained a corps of women working early and late at the dull but necessary details of folding and addressing. To each of these women the thanks are due of the League at large. It is upon such persistence as theirs that our permanent value as an organization, which may be counted upon for hard work, most depends.

The last two years have demonstrated that the League is short of workers, that a number of important matters could be taken up if more of us were willing to devote more time to the city. General interest in civic affairs has quadrupled Everyone is anxious to learn, and the burning questions of equalization and the fitness of men to hold given offices, show that progress has been made and how worth while it is for each to do her share. Our avenues are, of course, to inform ourselves, to be always ready, to take an intelligent interest in the incidental conversations where public matters are so largely discussed, to have some specific work which we feel connects us directly with the welfare of our city, because it *is* our city, to support any committees or societies to which we belong by work and by confidence in others who are working. All this is commonplace, and the annual meeting is a time when we must pause between what we have done and what we are going to do. As I have said, with more helpers we could undertake more work which is waiting for us; I have rehearsed the simple processes within reach of a volunteer society.

No more practical calamity could have befallen the League than the removal of our Vice-President, Miss Margaret D. Dreier, to Chicago. Miss Dreier founded and carried to its high efficiency our Legislative Committee. Out of its hands came the Department of Licenses and that masterly committee of investigation and vigilance, the Society for Household Research. I have referred in my campaign report to Mrs. Nathan's extraordinary enterprise, and to the tireless efficiency of Miss Kellor and Miss Arthur.

But it is not only in campaign time that this League is associated with many other organizations. During the past year your President has spoken to the New York Section of Jewish Women, the Actors' Mass Meeting, the Swedenborgians, Federation of Clubs, the National Municipal League, National Business Woman's League, the Women's Civic League of Newport and the Woman's Republican Club, and the BULLETIN is now asked for in thirty-one States and Territories.

When a woman like Mrs. Lowell dies it is impossible to estimate the number of societies which must suffer for want of her sympathy and advice,—the number of individuals who know there is no one to take her place. But we proudly stand in a group of organizations founded by Mrs. Lowell. It was to her that Dr. Parkhurst turned when he felt that a moral influence of the women of New York should be organized that it might be expressed. With hesitation, Mrs. Lowell has told us, and great anxiety, she met this request without delay; and that Dr. Parkhurst was right that the women of the city only needed the benediction of Mrs. Lowell's leadership, a few days proved beyond dispute. I have often been asked why Mrs. Lowell was not more actively engaged in directing the League since it assumed a permanent and uninterrupted basis. Mrs. Lowell discussed every step of our organization, but she did not feel that her strength permitted attendance at either committee or general meetings, and she was unwilling to accept any honorary position, such as President Emeritus.

Committee on Health.

Under the supervision of the Committee on Health, during the winter of 1904-1905, a trained investigator undertook to search out the conditions prevailing in the laundries of the city.

Laundries come under State Factory Inspection Laws, and are inspected once each year. There are no special laws for them other than the State laws pertaining to factories, with one exception: "No public laundry work shall be done in a room used for a sleeping or living room. All such laundries shall be kept in a clean condition free from vermin and all impurities of air, or impurities of infectious or contagious nature." There are no city ordinances applying especially to laundries. The Health Department investigates any complaints sent to them, otherwise they do not touch laundries.

Of the sixty-three visited, twenty-two were Chinese. These consisted of three rooms: A front room where the ironing was done, and which is the shop. A middle room, a combination of sleeping and smoking room, and a back room where the washing was done and which also served as the kitchen of the establishment. Twenty-two is a very small proportion of the Chinese laundries of the city, and there is no reason to believe the law is any more rigidly enforced in the others.

Next we took the hand laundries,—where no washing is done on the premises, and the ironing is done in the shop. The washing for these laundries is done in two ways; either sent to a steam laundry (and here let me say that the most unsanitary steam laundry visited washes for one hundred hand laundries), or taken from the shop and washed in the tenements and brought back to the shop. The proprietor neither sends nor collects the linen and, therefore, knows nothing of the conditions under which it is washed. This is in reality sweatshop work. How much goes to the tenements we do not know, but that anything should go there is a violation of the law.

The conditions in the twelve steam laundries inspected varied according to their prosperity. Large numbers of workers are employed in many of them, and where they are poorly lighted, badly ventilated and without proper sanitary arrangements the health of the employee suffers as well as the health of the public whose laundry is not rightly cared for. In these laundries the soiled and clean clothes are sorted and packed usually in the same room, thus exposing the clean linen to contagion from the soiled. The twelve visited were among the reputable ones of the community because our investigator failed to obtain access to others.

The three hand laundries of the calibre of the Charity Organization Society were in good condition, furnished with proper equipment and in their work observing the provisions of the law in all respects.

Sixty-three is an infinitesimal per cent. of the innumerable laundries of the city to have visited, and far too few to make anything but a most informal report. It is merely the first step, and the Committee on Health is eager to make the study a thorough one. Another organization invites our co-operation in these investigations, the importance of which is inestimable.

The cost of such work as we need will be at least $80 a month, and the work cannot be completed in a short time. We want special laundry ordinances. We want more inspectors to see that such ordinances are enforced. We want to protect the public and the employees. When the washing is done in the tenements who can say what the conditions in those tenements are!

Will you not help us?

MARGARET P. STRONG,
Chairman.

Aldermanic Committee

The Aldermanic Committee of The Woman's Municipal League held regular monthly meetings from December, 1904, to May, 1905. It has followed the proceedings of the Boards of Aldermen and Estimate and Apportionment throughout the year with great care. We attended meetings to protest against the Brooklyn and Williamsburg Bridge loops, as well as the public hearing on the same matter before the Rapid Transit Commission on March 16.

An investigation was made of the push-cart market under the Williamsburg Bridge and also of the overcrowding of streets on the East Side by push-carts, with a view to co-operating with the "Push-cart Commission."

The Committee upon invitation of the "Council of Civic Organization" joined it, thus being enabled to receive the report of the Council's representatives at all meetings of the Boards of Aldermen, Estimate and Apportionment, Sinking Fund, and Rapid Transit Commissions. The other members of the Council are the Citizens' Union, City Club, Transit Reform Committee, East Side Civic Club, People's Institute, Morningside and Riverside Heights Association, Board of Trade and Transportation, Home Rule Committee, Independent Club and Civic Club.

The Aldermanic Committee is convinced of the necessity of the proper codification of the City Ordinances. A committee of Aldermen has been appointed to undertake this work, but so far has accomplished very little. It is our hope to make a thorough investigation of this matter and to co-operate with any other organization desirous of attaining this end.

We were represented at almost every meeting of the National Municipal League, and close relations were established with its President, Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte.

Respectfully submitted,
HELEN VAN C. DE PEYSTER,
Chairman.

Committee on Parks.

The chief work done by the Park Committee during the past year was in connection with the movement of residents and societies in Upper Chelsea for a small park to be constructed on the blocks now occupied by slaughter houses between Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Streets, from Eleventh to Twelfth Avenues. A detailed account of the work done was presented in the League Bulletin for June, 1905.

It was hardly expected that the first effort of those who co-operated for this park would be successful, so that the Local Board's denial of the petition for the

park was not altogether a surprise and the petitioners were not disheartened. Efforts to secure this park will be renewed this winter and the park committee of the League is now co-operating with those locally interested in plans for a second campaign.

At the invitation of the City Club the Chairman of the Park Committee was present at the conference of civic bodies held at the City Club to formulate a protest against the extension of rapid transit facilities by means of an elevated railway through Bronx Park. She also represented the League at the hearing before the Rapid Transit Commission when the Board of Commissioners were persuaded to abandon this plan whose consequences would have been so unfortunate.

Some very unsatisfactory correspondence was had with Commissioner Pallas concerning the poor condition of the ice on the Central Park lakes during the skating season. Nothing was accomplished, but this matter will be taken up again with the present commissioner, with whom, it is believed, much can be accomplished.

This autumn the Committee has been in consultation with the Metropolitan Parks Associations as to some method whereby Park Commissioner Schrader of the Bronx may be required personally to pay the expenses first of constructing a race track through Pelham Bay Park, and second, of restoring the park to its original condition. These expenses, amounting to $5,000 or $6,000, the result of Commissioner Schrader's disregard of the law, have been met by the city.

The Park Committee is in need of a larger working force of women specially interested in parks. Will not such women volunteer to help in this department of the League's work? Names may be sent to the Chairman at 569 Fifth Avenue.

HELEN K. HOY,
Chairman.

Committee on Ice Water Fountains.

Owing to the absence of the Chairman and illness among the members of the Committee, active work was practically suspended during most of the year. In the spring, however, Miss Richards undertook the supervision of the fountains already installed and placed a new one, the gift with maintenance, of Mrs. Andrew C. Zabriskie, on the building of the Italian Benevolent Society, 165-169 West Houston Street.

The fact that the Ice Water Fountain Committee are unequal to the financial burden of supplying ice each year, occasioned a delay in the acceptance of a fountain last spring from the Junior Section of the Council of Jewish Women, who were not prepared to furnish the ice. The organization have since voted an appropriation for this purpose, and the fountain will early next spring be placed on the building of the Educational Alliance, Jefferson Street. The amount remaining in our treasury, $281.03, assures us of still another next season.

HARRIET A. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman.

District Work.

The Murray Hill Local Improvement District.

The Executive Committee held regular monthly meetings from November to May.

We undertook such committee work as in the Central Committee had no Chairman. Last winter we visited police stations, inspecting the quarters for women prisoners, interviewing the matrons and generally informing ourselves upon the conditions of station houses where women prisoners are detained. We recommended the fitting up of suitable quarters in police stations for matrons and prisoners in precincts where there are many arrests of women, but where they can

not be detained owing to lack of quarters, which necessitated their transfer to other precincts, which is undesirable as it causes overcrowding.

We also recommended that all station houses in process of building, or those planned for future construction, should have a court where the discharging and loading of all prisoners, men and women, shall be done under cover and entirely protected from the passerby. Also that the same protection be afforded in the Courts.

The Commissioner of Correction and the Commissioner of Police both promised their co-operation.

Balance in treasury November 1, 1905, $108.15; membership, 267.

FRANCES C. E. WENDELL,
Chairman.

Chelsea Local Improvement District.

The Chelsea Branch held its meetings once a month last season from November to June, with an average attendance of 27. The Executive Board also met regularly once a month. The membership numbers 55.

Speakers at the different meetings were: Miss Burnett, of the Hudson Guild; Mrs. Henry Parsons, of the Long Acre League; Mrs. Frederick S. Lamb, Miss Kellogg, of the Consumers' League; Mrs. Charles R. Lamb, Rev. Robert L. Paddock, D.D., and the Rev. Thomas R. Slicer, D.D.

The Committee, of which Mrs. Frederick S. Lamb was Chairman, succeeded in preventing the asphalting of the yards of the Twenty-fourth Street school, and also obtained from Washington an ample supply of seed, etc., necessary for the use of its botany class.

Through the favorable action of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, combined with the cordial co-operation of Mayor McClellan, Borough President Ahearn, and Comptroller Grout, the block between Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Streets, Ninth and Tenth Avenues, has been granted to Chelsea for a park, and the buying in of the property is now going on.

KATHARINE W. D. HERBERT,
Chairman.

Riverside Local Improvement District.

By the courtesy of the United States Guarantee and Trust Company the ladies' room in the Ansonia has again been placed at our service, and here the six general meetings of the Riverside Branch were held during the season.

The speakers on these occasions were: Mr. Horace Deming, who spoke on the "Origin and Scope of the National Municipal League"; Miss Helen K. Hoy, on "Conditions of the City Parks"; Mr. John Martin, on "The Humanitarian Side of City Reform", and Mrs. William Herbert, on the "New City Park in Chelsea."

The committees of the Riverside Branch have been chiefly active in the care of trees, in local transportation and in the investigation of the city laundries.

A petition was sent to the New York State Senators in Washington asking their support for the Pure Food Bill, No. 6,295, in the United States Congress, one of the most important bills for the health of the country perhaps ever introduced.

In place of the regular afternoon meeting in April, two evening conferences were called, to which invitations were sent to all societies interested in the care of trees, to confer with Mr. Samuel Parsons, Jr.

The membership of Riverside Branch is 115. Balance in the treasury November 1, 1905, $30.48.

AUGUSTA L. S. CURTIS,
Chairman.

The Heights Local Improvement District.

In the course of the year several speakers have given us interesting talks on subjects relating to our work. Mr. Langdon, of Pratt Institute, told us of work done among boys of the City Juvenile League; Mr. Parmalee spoke on public baths; Mr. Durland on Settlement work, and Dr. Billings, Chief of the Bureau of communicable diseases, on Brooklyn's need of a dispensary for tuberculosis cases.

Among the letters sent by this Branch of the League to public officials was one to Gov. Higgins, urging the appointment of Mrs. Florence Kelley as Commissioner of Labor in place of Mr. McMackin; one in support of the Thonet bill providing for vestibuled cars for the protection of motormen and conductors, and one to endorse a plan for an ocean park at Far Rockaway.

We have taken a deep interest in the question of probation officers. It has been found necessary to provide the salary for such an officer by means of contributions from the various women's clubs, and we have voted $25 for this object. It is hoped that the probation officer's salary for the ensuing year may be increased from $600 to $1,000.

Our School Committee reports several improvements in public schools of our section of the city, notably the formation at No. 8, of a class for non-English speaking pupils. The Chairman of this committee criticizes very severely the unfinished condition of some of the school buildings at the opening of the school year. It is believed that this state of things is caused by the absence of a penalty clause in the contracts for repairs on school buildings.

The Tenement House Committee has been active in working for the suppression of disorderly houses, especially certain houses on Hudson Avenue and in reporting violations of the law, such as dark hallways, bad plumbing, etc. We feel that one of the best things done by this committee has been the printing of folders containing extracts from the tenement house regulations in English, Italian and Syrian. These folders have been distributed by various organizations, such as the Bureau of Charities, Salvation Army, Italian Settlements, etc.

In April last we accepted with deep regret the resignation of our able Secretary, Miss Dreier. We feel that the resignation of Mrs. Robins and her removal from the city has been a great loss to the Municipal League and we wish to express our appreciation of her services.

At our last meeting resolutions were passed expressing our sorrow at the death of Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell. We realize that in Mrs. Lowell's death the city of New York has suffered a severe affliction.

In closing our report we would say that at present we are especially interested in the matter of the Raines Law Hotels. The Secretary of the Brooklyn League has sent us a list of hotels that are suspected of violating the law as expressed in the Ambler amendment. In order that these places shall be investigated, the demands for such investigation must be made by a taxpayer. Several of our members have undertaken to file such demands with the Deputy Commissioner of Excise.

JEANNIE S. DIKE,
Chairman.

Prospect Heights Local Improvement District.

The Prospect Heights Branch of the Woman's Municipal League was organized February, 1905, by Mrs. Frederic B. Pratt. The object of the first year of the Branch was the study of the work of the League and the knowledge of the conditions of the home district. With this end in view three meetings were held, in February, March, and April. At the first meeting Miss Chanler, Miss Leverich, and Miss Dreier spoke of the work of the League.

Mr. William Chauncey Langdon addressed the Branch at its second meeting on the subject of the Juvenile City League. At his suggestion a worker was engaged by the Branch to investigate and report on the district, his salary to be paid by private subscription. Miss Kellor told of the work of the League for the improvement of employment agencies, and the need of such work by our committees.

At the last meeting Mr. Watson, the worker engaged by the Branch, reported the conditions existing in the district and his plans to co-operate with the churches and settlements for work among the boys during the summer.

We feel that a knowledge of the conditions and needs of our home district has been gained, and much hope is felt for the work of the new year.

ROSAMOND ROBERTS,
Secretary.

Morrisania Local Improvement District.

The General Committee, which consists of the chairmen and secretaries of the three divisions of the Morrisania Branch of the League and which holds its monthly meetings mainly for the purpose of giving the three divisions an opportunity to compare notes, and thus to work in harmony, held six regular meetings and one annual meeting.

Cards were issued in its name for two teas, one in Highbridge at which Miss Chanler presided and spoke, and one in Tremont which was specially interesting because of the address delivered by Albert E. Davis on "How Women Can Help in Politics." An attempt was made to reorganize a division in Bedford Park, where from the character of the population it would be supposed that such work would command much attention. However, the attempt was not successful. A meeting was attended by the Chairman of the General Committee at the Van Cortlandt Mansion to discuss the possibilities of building a lake south of the Mansion. The difficulties of drainage appear to render the project impracticable.

The division of the Bronx for house numbering purposes into an East and West has occupied much of our time. We did not care to proceed in this matter without the co-operation of the various men's political associations. Our committee met with that of the North Side Board of Trade, and in spite of our arguments, the decision was reached that Jerome Avenue was the proper division line.

The Metropolitan Parks Association, of which Eugene Philbin is President, asked us to assist in preventing the building of a race track in Pelham Bay Park by stirring up opinion throughout the Bronx against the track, and by sending resolutions to the Mayor and Park Commissioners condemning the project. This we did, and the reasons for doing so were excellent, considering that the proposed track would cross the public road in two places, and that the setting aside of a large tract of land to purposes available only to a limited class, was an unwarrantable appropriation of public property.

Our Treasurer reports $28.10 from dues, and our expenditures as $14.80, leaving us a balance of $13.30. This amount you will understand is the result of a twenty per cent tax on each division. Ten per cent of this again is handed to the Central Committee for its support.

The first in point of priority of the Morrisania Divisions is the organization at *Highbridge*. Here Mrs. Clark and Mrs. Rummler continued the work of the League, and by their strong efforts of the previous year together with that of this year, obtained the desired improvements in the postal service. At their request the New York Post Office ordered an additional postman placed in Highbridge and the collection of an extra mail. The inhabitants throughout the whole district are thus indebted to the League for prompter and more efficient service. The Central Bridge, upon which the Union Trolley Co. had put their cars, had

been cleared during most of the winter of all the snow, thus preventing the crossing of sleighs. The division took up this matter and looked up the Union franchise, where the information was obtained that the Company had charge of the removal of snow on the tracks and two feet to either side only. An application was then made to the Street Department, and as a result a sufficient quantity of snow was left to permit the crossing of sleighs.

In *Kingsbridge,* the division had an amusing correspondence with two city departments in regard to the removal of a large heap of condemned blocks on Broadway. The Deputy Street Commissioner was asked to take them away. Orders for their removal were promised subject to the endorsement of the Borough President. The Borough President was appealed to and the matter referred back by him to the Deputy Street Commissioner without the necessary signature of the Borough President. The division did not know next how to proceed, so decided to await developments. After twelve months of waiting, the blocks were removed.

The trolley service at Kingsbridge has always been a subject of interest to the women. Efforts have been made to induce the Metropolitan Railroad Company to keep the cars cleaner, and a bill introduced in Albany purposing to improve the service, was endorsed by this division. The attention of the Railroad officials was also directed to the urgent necessity of a shelter at the terminus of the Broadway line, and we trust the matter will soon be settled to our satisfaction.

Bailey Avenue, which has never been adequately lighted and for the erection of lamp posts upon which the League has made repeated requests, is now as bright by night as by day. Another matter much to this division's credit, is the filling up and bridging over an unsightly and dangerous gully at the foot of Marble Hill.

This division is urging the school authorities to plant ivy on the monstrous school building in Kingsbridge. It also contributed five dollars toward the entertainment given by the Woman's Municipal League to the National Municipal League. Through the efforts of this division the bricks stored on Broadway have been removed, the burned district has been cleared and the debris removed, some offensive closets have been cleaned and cesspools emptied, in particular one on Broadway which had been pouring its contents on the avenue. Besides this important sanitary work the ladies have been instrumental in having the dead ends of the water mains on Marble Hill flushed, and in having the hydrants and watergates which have been leaking all summer, properly stopped and sealed.

Tremont appointed a sub-committee to agitate the question of street signs. Requests were made to the Borough President that the most necessary of these be erected, and the President replied that the same would be done as soon as an appropriation could be obtained. The appropriation has been obtained and the signs are now up. The uncleanliness of the street cars is a subject which also claims this division's attention, as well as other matters connected with the city's traffic. The poor condition of the little offices of the ticket sellers in the new subway stations, which during the winter months were left unheated, was taken in hand by this division and on their representation, the Interborough Rapid Transit Company installed the proper heating apparatus. The Simpson Street Station of the Elevated Road is in need of another flight of exit stairs and the division is ready to take up this matter as well as that of the change of name of this station, and of the very important matter of strengthening the Elevated bridge which crosses the New Haven tracks at Bedford Park.

To this division was referred an anonymous letter addressed to our Central Committee in Union Square, saying that the League's work for improving the sanitary conditions of the tenements had been drawn to the writer's attention, that the tenement in which the writer resided was filthy beyond expression, and that the neighborhood would be everlastingly indebted if the League would

change the conditions. Mrs. Baker, our Chairman in Tremont, thought at first sight that the writer had no real grounds for complaint and that the letter had been written for spiteful reasons; but upon further investigation found that the house had no plumbing, the forbidden privy vaults and school sinks being used, and that both the Tenement and Health Departments knew of this public nuisance. Upon visiting these two departments she found the blame attached by either to the other, and neither willing to enforce the law.

To keep the Tremont fountain in good running order, personal requests had to be made to the new Park Commissioner, and we are inclined to think that each new Commissioner will have to be approached in the same way. There are also sufficient funds to enable us to build another fountain.

The work of our committees seems small and insignificant when compared with that of the larger committees of the League, and it is essentially local work where the results are, comparatively speaking, quickly appreciated. We hope, however, that for this very reason of quick appreciation, our small beginnings will grow step by step, until we really become a power in the Borough, and we trust further that out of every bit of local work will grow a line of converts to the cause of women's rightful place in the municipal household.

Respectfully submitted,

JULIA L. D. LONGFELLOW,
Chairman.

Treasurer's Annual Report.

Grace H. Dodge in account with Woman's Municipal League.

November 1st, 1904 to November 1st, 1905.

Dr.		*Cr.*	
To Balance in Bank, November 1st, 1905	$ 24.91	By Office and salary of Assistant Secretary	$1,320.00
Local Improvement Branches, Percentage on Dues	122.75	Printing Bulletins, Notices, etc.	570.60
Dues from members not allied to Local Improvement Branches	109.00	Telephone	69.30
Donations for general expenses	1848.90	Office sundries, including postage for Bulletin	179.27
Special donations for Reception to National Municipal League	448.00	Expenses reception for delegates National Municipal League	372.00
*Receipts for sundries	46.25	Distribution of Bulletin	30.00
		City Club Employees	25.00
		Bank charges	.10
		Bank balance	33.54
	$2,599.81		$2,59 .81

* The receipts and expenditures for the work of the Campaign Committee and Legislative Committee did not pass through the hands of the Treasurer.

We have audited the above statement and certify that it is correct.

JAMESON & HEDGE,
Accountants,
52 Broadway.

The Consumers' League
of the City of New York.

Room 617, 105 East 22d Street.

Mrs. Frederick Nathan, *President.*
Miss Helen Phelps Stokes, *1st Vice-President.*
Mrs. Hugh Munroe Dewees, *2d Vice-President.*
Miss Alice H. Day, *Treasurer.*
Miss May Matthews, *Recording Secretary.*
Miss Mary R. Sanford, *Corresponding Secretary.*
Miss Pauline Goldmark, *Executive Secretary.*

With this number of the BULLETIN, the Consumers' League welcomes the opportunity of reaching a constituency which for years has interested itself most effectively in questions of civic importance. The Consumers' League devotes its efforts to the improvement of industrial conditions, and thus allies itself, in the larger aspect, to the forces that make for good citizenship. Its activity in encouraging the enforcement of laws, and in gaining for employees the protection which the authorities should afford them, is not unrelated to the work of the Woman's Municipal League.

For almost a year the case of the newsgirls employed at the subway stands has occupied the attention of the Consumers' League. It became evident, soon after the opening of the subway, that very young girls were obliged to work at the news-stands for twelve hours a day, without being allowed time-off for luncheon. Not until the Corporation Counsel was appealed to, and decided that these employees are protected by the mercantile law, exactly as if they were selling in a store, was the Consumers' League successful in getting the Board of Health to enforce this law. As a result of the League's activity last spring, the youngest girls (who appeared to be barely 16) were dismissed, and no girls under 21 are now allowed to work for more than ten hours a day.

Careful inquiry during the last month has shown that the law is not yet fully enforced for the benefit of these employees. It appears that the girls on the downtown side of the subway are on duty from 7 A. M. until 7 P. M., without being regularly relieved by a substitute at any time of the day. The girls on the uptown side fare better. They are relieved by a substitute at the luncheon hour, and can leave the subway to enjoy a walk in the open air. Their hours are shorter, being from 9 A. M. to 7 P. M., sometimes even ending at 5 P. M.

The wages of the girls on the downtown side are a dollar more a week, in order to compensate for the longer hours of work. The fact still remains, however, that these women who work for 12 hours a day, are entirely deprived of their legal luncheon hour.

The Health Commissioner, whose duty it is to enforce the mercantile law, has asked the Corporation Counsel for his opinion on the point in question, which has been communicated to the Consumers' League in the following letter of October 11, 1905:

Mesdames:

On behalf of the Commissioner of Health, I desire to inform you that he has this day received a communication from the learned Corporation Counsel which reads as follows:

"The object of Section 161 of the Labor Law is clearly to benefit the employees of mercantile establishments, which designation includes, as I have previously advised you, the news-stands in the Subway stations.

"The women and young girls in charge of such news-stands are each entitled to not less than 45 minutes for the noon-day meal. They may eat such noon-day meal where they please, in the subway or out of it. There is nothing in the law which designates the place at which the 45 minutes required to be allowed them must be spent in the consumption of such meal.

"The law is silent as to what shall constitute the meal, or where it must be eaten; therefore, they may eat where and what they please during the time allowed.

"I am therefore of the opinion, and so advise you, that there is nothing in the Labor Law which will prevent the employees from voluntarily eating the noon-day meal at the news-stands in question, although they may not legally be compelled to eat such meal at the said news-stands."

Trusting this will contain the information which you desire, I am,

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) H. G. Murray,
Secretary to the Commissioner.

It is obvious that this interpretation of the law is far from being satisfactory, as it does not explicitly say (in spite of much irrelevant matter) that the girls have a right to be entirely relieved by a substitute for 45 minutes.

The President of the Consumers' League has therefore called upon Commissioner Darlington again, to ask that the full privileges of the lunch hour should be accorded to these employees, whether they are stationed on the up or downtown side of the subway. It is, of course, entirely inconsistent that any difference should be made, as all the girls, in the eyes of the law, are entitled to the same treatment in this respect.

The Tuberculosis Exhibition, to be held at the Natural History Museum from November 8th to December 9th, has an additional interest for members of the Consumers' League, from the fact that the National League has been invited to prepare an exhibition in co-operation with the Tuberculosis Committee. It shows a number of photographs illustrating sweatshop manufacture of clothing in the overcrowded tenements of New York City. Medical authorities have asserted that the germs of tuberculosis and other contagious diseases are disseminated through the community in the garments which are made or finished under these conditions. On the other hand, the presence of the League's Label on any garment is a guarantee that it has been manufactured in a clean and healthful factory.

The approach of the Christmas season lends a special interest to the use of the Label on the Fairyland Rag Doll, a most attractive product of a clean and sunny workshop in a neighboring town. Surely there is no article or gift for which the guarantee that the League offers, is more to be desired.

In this month of greatest fatigue and exertion for the employees of the retail stores, it well behooves the spenders of money to consider what they may do to check the cruelties of Christmas overtime work. The act of shopping seems to many trivial and entirely personal, while in reality it exerts a far-reaching, often repeated influence for good or evil. For the sake of the tens of thousands of women and children, to whom the holiday season means chiefly weariness due to excessive work, a bitter mockery of holiday cheer,

It might be regarded as a definite violation of our humanitarian principles to shop, except in case of emergency, either the week before Christmas, or late in the day during December.

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. JANUARY, 1906 No. 6

The regular Monthly Meeting of the League will be held on Thursday, January 11, at 11 a. m., at the City Club, 55 West 44th Street.

MR. LEWIS STUYVESANT CHANLER, will speak on "Our Criminal Courts."

FRANCES SCHROEDER BOULTON,
Secretary.

Ballot Reform.

It is a matter of common experience that reform, whether social or political, makes headway slowly. A conservative spirit distrusting change, and an evil element fighting against restriction are potent forces for blocking many an advance. In the face of such influences, the efforts made for ten years past in New York State to secure a change in the form of the ballot have met with continuous failure. Yet from the history of other desirable measures, which after years of ineffective agitation, have been finally adopted, we have warrant for our hope that the present struggle will issue in success.

Our registration laws, the first of which was passed in 1859, have encountered much criticism and opposition. As late as 1872 Governor Hoffman said in his message to the Legislature, "I have little faith in them (Registration Laws) to prevent fraud at the polls;" yet a repeal of the registration laws to-day would be justly regarded by the whole community as removing one of the greatest safeguards of our elections. Forty years ago the ballot was not in use in England; all voting was viva voce, and the elections were very generally disgraced by bribery, intimidation and disorder, and when a remedy was sought in a secret ballot, the movement encountered a storm of opposition, which included many of the most public spirited men of the day, Sidney Smith, in particular, pouring merciless ridicule upon the innovation, and it was only after sev-

eral years of effort that its friends saw this vital reform made the law of the land. No Englishman to-day would seriously consider a return to the old method.

New York State has used some form of ballot for over a century, and though changes and improvements have been made in it, we are still struggling for the adoption of a better type.

In 1887 in this State and generally throughout the country, each political party furnished its separate tickets, "state," "county," etc., at its own expense at an election. They could be furnished in advance of election day and sent by mail or otherwise to the voter, so that on election morning he could take his ballots with him to the polls, ready for voting. If not thus supplied, he could obtain them from a party worker, who was always at the polling place pressing them on voters, or from a table on which lay a miscellaneous collection of ballots and "pasters" for public use. There was no closed booth as now to which the voter could retire; he stepped up to the guard rail with his ballot in full view of the persons about, and it was deposited in the proper box by the inspector.

This system had manifest disadvantages, for any voter willing to be bought could receive his ballot from the party worker, and give him the evidence of his own eyes that it was actually voted. As a matter of fact, intimidation and bribery flourished under it, and people interested in doing away with these abuses cast about for a better method of voting.

For many years Australia had been using a system, different from any of our own in the United States, which had given excellent results. Briefly, it consisted of a "blanket" ballot on which the names of all the candidates of every party were printed in alphabetical order under the title of the various offices for which they were running. These ballots were furnished at public expense and were delivered only by an election officer to a voter when he presented himself to vote. The voter took the ballot with him into a closed booth, unfolded it and marked an X against the name of every candidate he wished to vote for; then folding, he left the booth and handed the ballot to the proper election officer, who dropped it into the box prepared for voted ballots. This method had promoted secrecy and independence and greatly lessened the corrupt use of money, as the briber could never feel any certainty as to how a man had voted.

England in 1872, and Canada a few years later, had adopted this Australian method and had had equally satisfactory experience with it, and bills embodying its essential features were prepared and pressed in various States in this country.

The two great evils of the old system having been lack of secrecy and the separate, private ballots furnished by the candidate or his party, it was felt that the cardinal features of the reform were enforced secrecy for the voter and a single official ballot furnished at public expense, and whether candidates' names were to be arranged alphabetically under the office or brought together in party groups was a consideration the importance of which was not then fully appreciated. Yet as a matter of fact, a majority of the States adopting the Australian type at this period accepted the alphabetical arrangement so that in 1892 no less than nineteen States were using it. Since that year, the exigencies of party politics and a mistaken though perhaps honest effort for improvement have considerably reduced

this number, Rhode Island being the last to desert to the party column, and to-day there are but five or six States, headed by Massachusetts, which require the "blanket" ballot with the names alphabetically arranged under the office and a separate voting mark for each candidate. States have varied in adopting to their own use the different features of the Australian system. Thus Minnesota, while not using the alphabetical grouping, places all candidates for an office under the title and requires a separate X mark for each candidate.

Colorado uses the alphabetical grouping, yet permits a voter to write the name of his party in a blank space and thereby vote a full party ticket. Arkansas groups candidates under the title of the office, but not alphabetically, and votes by erasure instead of the X mark used by a majority of the States. California uses a rubber stamp for the voting mark, and this is permissible in Massachusetts. Louisiana and Delaware, after trial, have discarded the stamp. Out of thirty-five States, eight allow emblems as a guide for the voter while twenty-seven do not.

But whatever the varying attitude of States on these points, the old type of ballot has been displaced generally throughout the Union by some form of the Australian; Missouri, Connecticut, and New Jersey, for example, being the only ones to retain the separate party tickets almost universally in use twenty years ago.

In 1888 a bill closely following the Australian lines was introduced into the Legislature of New York. Deprived of some of its original value by amendments, it passed both houses only to be vetoed by Gov. Hill. Measures passed in 1889 and 1890 met the same fate. To meet his objections a compromise bill requiring a separate ballot for each party and quite unsatisfactory to the friends of the Australian system was finally passed at the session of 1890, and received the Governor's signature, and with some amendments, it remained in force till 1895, when a new ballot law providing for the official blanket ballot, previously rejected, and abolishing the objectionable "paster" succeeded it and, in substance, this remains on our statute books to-day. The alphabetical arrangement of candidates, under the office was not adopted; instead the ballot is divided into party columns and in each column appear in the order to be mentioned, beginning at the top, the party emblem, the party circle, the party name, and all the party candidates. An X mark made by the voter in the circle at the top votes the whole party ticket below, while to vote for an individual candidate an X mark may be made in the space before his name.

Public sentiment has acquiesced in this plan. The average man likes to vote quickly and include a number of candidates with one X mark, and this he is enabled to do in the party circle, and no occasion has arisen until the recent municipal contest, when so many of the voters have wanted to split instead of voting straight, to compel any great number to realize the difficulties inherent in our law, and hence, for the first time, a widespread protest against it has arisen, and we see habitual party men demanding a change in the law as vigorously as the independent who has always cordially disliked it. Speaking generally, the most serious objections against the law are:

1st. It puts a premium on straight ticket voting. By a single X in the large inviting circle under the emblem, the voter can vote for a dozen or more candi-

dates. It is easier, of course, to do this than to make a dozen or more separate X marks and the average voter prefers the easier way, and takes good, bad and indifferent candidates in consequence. It may be that every candidate on a ticket is deserving of support; if so, there is no objection to his having it. But we cannot approve of a ballot where discrimination on the part of the voter is so discouraged that a rascal further down on the ticket is not infrequently carried into office with about as many votes as a model candidate at the top.

2d. It does not put voters on a par with one another; the conscientious man has to make a series of marks, the lazy or indifferent votes with one.

3d. The direction to a voter as to how to vote, and to election officers how to count afterwards, especially in the case of a split ticket, are numerous and difficult to comprehend and often deter the voter from voting for candidates of different parties, because of the risk of invalidating his ballot. In the recent election in this city, the Law Committee of the Jerome Nominators felt it necessary to furnish the watchers with fourteen different illustrations of ballots properly and improperly marked, with directions for their guidance at the canvass. The bill boards of the city were placarded for weeks in advance and the newspapers gave repeated instructions and illustrations to show how to split a ballot without invalidating it.

The time, labor and expense consumed in this were large, yet notwithstanding all the efforts made, some thirteen thousand votes, because of the party column, were cast for Flammer, whose name remained on the Republican ticket, though he had withdrawn in favor of Jerome nearly two weeks before, and Jerome lost many intended for him through crosses made by the same voter in Jerome's and some other circle. The combination on the ballot of party circles and individual voting spaces is at the bottom of this confusion, and there is little doubt that the adoption of the simple, clean-cut Australian ballot as used in Massachusetts, where there is no party circle and no double system of marking, and all that a voter has to do is to put a cross in front of the name of each candidate he wishes to vote for, will greatly simplify the marking of the ballot as well as conduce to a higher type of voting. This type of ballot has been advocated for years in this State by men who have studied our electoral methods closely, and at the recent conference called by the Reform Club, at which various civic bodies were represented, a resolution advocating ballot reform along these lines was unanimously passed.

In the warmth of our enthusiasm for this change in the ballot, it is well to remember that a paper ballot of any kind has inherent defects, and that we shall not have reached the millennium in voting if we get the Massachusetts ballot on our statute books. Any paper ballot may be torn or defaced, or have marks for identification made on it, or X marks put in improper places, which will give rise to controversy at the canvass. With universal suffrage, a certain proportion of illiterate and semi-illiterate voters, men with trembling hands or weak eyesight, or simply stupid, when given so large a paper and a pencil for marking, will inevitably spoil it in whole or in part. It seems not improbable, also, strongly as one may advocate the abandonment of party columns and the compelling of the voter to select each candidate separately, that where a voter is obliged to mark his

ballot fifteen or twenty times and in smaller voting spaces than before, simple though the directions are, there will be an increased likelihood of spoiling the ballot, or voting blank for an office, from the lack of mere manual dexterity, unless the requirements of the law as to the marks upon it are made less exacting than at present. We have good reason to hope that the remedy for this is the voting machine, which seems destined to be some day in universal use in the State. With this, the paper ballot and pencil disappear, the voter cannot vote for more candidates than he is entitled to, or mark his ballot for identification, or make it void, or do anything while voting which can give rise to controversy among the election officials afterwards. Every vote is automatically registered as he pulls the levers and the count is complete at the back of the machine when the polls close. Had the machine been used in the recent city election, we would have had no such after-election struggle as has recently been going on in New York courts over "void ballots" and "protested" ballots, and the opening of the ballot boxes for a recount of all the accepted ballots. All this matter for dispute is simply non-existent where machines are used at an election. Of course, objections can be made to them, and these may have some merit; it is said the machines may break down; they are confusing; they cost too much; perhaps they don't really register the vote, and they can be "beaten," by which is meant that how a man has voted can be determined.

Perhaps the most serious of these criticisms is the asserted confusion of the voter when beholding the mass of pointers, knobs and divisions on the face of the machine, which influence him to vote straight with one pull of the party knob rather than attempt, in the one minute allowed him by the law, to make selections among the crowd of candidates.

In reply to this, it may be said, in the first place, that one minute is too short a time to allow a voter; he should have at least three minutes. A voter with a paper ballot has five minutes. At the last election in New York seventeen offices were to be voted for and there were seven constitutional amendments. What is one minute for all this?

Moreover, with a Massachusetts ballot, selection would be easier because all the candidates for one office are close together and the voter is not compelled to go over a large surface as now to find them. Again, machines have been greatly improved throughout a series of years and still further improvements may be reasonably expected.

And finally, it is not unlikely that we may have some reduction in the number of candidates voted for, something much to be desired, as Mr. Jerome has said, and this would make intelligent selection easier.

But it would take too long to deal in detail with the other objections mentioned; it is perhaps enough to say that Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse and other cities and many villages and towns have been using machines for years with great satisfaction on the whole, and each year new communities, in this and other States are adopting them. With the acknowledged imperfections of any paper ballot it seems a fair presumption that a Massachusetts ballot in the right type of voting machine would be as satisfactory a method of voting as has yet been devised. At

present, however, the struggle is for the ballot which is the more important of the two; indeed, certain faults now charged against the machine will disappear only with the adoption of this ballot.

When that is secured a great step in electoral reform will have been taken; then perhaps more attention will be given to this other important feature, and we shall ultimately see throughout the State the pure Australian ballot in a perfected machine easily and accurately expressing the wishes of the electorate.

ISAAC S. WHEATON,
Member Citizens' Union Committee on Ballot Reform.

The Work of the Woman's Municipal League in the Last Campaign.

Never before in the campaign history of the Woman's Municipal League has an opportunity to fulfill one of the purposes of the League, namely, "to aid in securing permanent good government for the City of New York without regard to party or sectional lines," been presented more definitely than in their work for the election as District Attorney of William Travers Jerome.

In the previous election in 1903, when such valiant work was done to aid the Fusion forces, the ticket was not in its strict sense a non-partisan one—it was a multi-partisan one—and although the foremost names represented the idea of clean government, yet some men were on that ticket because of the fact that, in a union of parties, concessions must be made.

However, in 1905 with Mr. Jerome as an independent candidate, put before the people by petition and standing free from any entangling alliance, the action of the Woman's Municipal League in declaring itself as eager to aid him, was a recognition that Mr. Jerome's attitude was an embodiment of what it had long worked for—real non-partisanship in municipal affairs.

The first step was taken by the League's President, Miss Chanler, who selected a campaign committee of the following women: Mrs. V. Simkovitch, Mrs. George A. Strong, Miss Katherine S. Dreier, Miss Helen van C. de Peyster, Mrs. Frederick W. Longfellow, Mrs. Herbert Parsons, Miss Catharine S. Leverich, Mrs. Gordon Wendell, Mrs. Edward Curtis, Mrs. Henry Parsons, Miss Helen Arthur, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. James Scrymser, Miss Lillian Wald, Miss Frances A. Kellor and Mrs. Rosalie Loew Whitney; and called a meeting in the League's room on October 24th, thus leaving three weeks open for its activities.

This campaign committee had as Chairman, Miss Chanler, to whose executive ability and clear sightedness much is due, and as its Secretary, Miss Katherine Dreier, to whom the chairman of the various committees are indebted for practical aid and faithful co-operation.

The committees and their chairmen were as follows: Finance Committee, Miss Helen van C. de Peyster, Chairman; Press Committee, Miss Catharine S.

Leverich, Chairman; Committee on Distribution of Literature, Mrs. Gordon Wendell, Chairman; Committee on Speakers, Miss Helen Arthur, Chairman; Committee on Ballot Instruction, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Chairman.

The office of the League at 31 Union Square was made campaign headquarters and the chairman and secretary of the committee could be found here daily. It was here, also, that the campaign committee met every other morning at eleven o'clock to report progress.

The rooms of the Association of Household Research, at 111 East Twenty-third Street were used at the headquarters of the press and distribution committees. The force employed by these two committees varied from ten to twenty-five people daily and the hours of work were from 9 A. M. until 10.30 P. M.

The first work of the press committee was to issue the League's campaign document, which was an eight-page bulletin entitled "Why New York Women Stand Back of William Travers Jerome." The advance sheets of this pamphlet were sent to the New York dailies, and they saw fit to print a large part of it, gratifying testimony of its value, while the conservative New York Post came out and said squarely that "the Bulletin of the Woman's Municipal League was the only real Literature of the Campaign."

Of this bulletin three hundred thousand English copies were distributed, besides a German edition of fifty thousand. This German edition was, translated, printed and paid for by one of the Jerome nominators.

The other literature handled by the press and distribution committee comprised twenty thousand copies of "Jerome's Work," in four languages, twenty thousand "How to Split the Ticket," in four languages, twenty thousand "Lest We Forget" in three languages, and twenty thousand "A Last Appeal" in three languages. Also ten thousand copies in Yiddish of a Rabbi's endorsement of Mr. Jerome. Besides these there were eighty thousand sample ballots, showing how to split the ticket and vote for Mr. Jerome. All of this literature had to be folded before being sent out and it was all packed in bundles ranging from one hundred to five hundred copies.

Three hundred thousand bulletins were distributed in various ways: One hundred thousand were enclosed in the Sunday newspapers, on Sunday immediately preceding election day; sixty thousand were distributed by an organized band of newsboys which handed them out at noon in the crowded portions of the business centers, such as near the stations of the elevated railroads and the subway. This force of newsboys also covered the last Democratic mass meeting on Nov. 5th, which was held at the Hippodrome and the Municipal Ownership Rally at the Madison Square Garden on that same date, where the persons seeking admission were kept in line at the different entrances and the newsboys stationed at each door handed every person entering a Bulletin and a sample ballot showing how to vote for Mr. McClellan and Mr. Jerome or Mr. Hearst and Mr. Jerome, as the case might be.

The Bulletins were also placed on sale on the elevated and subway stations for one cent, and two hundred and fifty display cards advertising them were also put up on these stands. The ballots of the Bulletins and the other literature to-

gether with seven thousand Jerome buttons and two thousand lithographs were distributed by automobile and according to the following plans: Fourteen Settlements were willing to act as distributing centers, there were fifty-five Jerome headquarters and forty Republican ones which sent out the Jerome literature, and there were from three to eight meetings each evening addressed by the four candidates. At most of the Republican and Jerome meetings, our Bulletins were placed in the chairs before the meeting opened, thanks to the co-operation of Mr. Halpin of the Republican County Committee, Mr. Henneberry, campaign manager for Mr. Jerome, and Mr. Whitney, Assistant Secretary of the Citizens' Union, but at the Hearst and McClellan gatherings the method employed was to stock an automobile with the literature suitable and then send boys with the Bulletins, etc., to hand them in at the doors and to pass them through the overflow crowd. Supplies were sent to the Settlement and headquarters in every instance twice during the campaign and in some cases oftener than this.

The nationality of the citizens in the neighborhood of the various distributing centers was carefully considered and material suited to their particular needs was sent. The committee had as volunteer workers for the automobile tours, ten small boys from the College and University Settlements who gave their evenings freely.

The usual difficulty of having one's aims and plans misquoted in the newspapers was in a great measure surmounted by the press committee. The women reporters who write on "space" were sent for and the press committee conferred with them. A daily press sheet was givenout at two o'clock to all of them, and in its typewritten form no deviation from its facts could be excused on the plea of misunderstanding.

The campaign secretary discovered that the Italian quarter was not being carefully looked after and she secured three Italians to distribute Italian Campaign Literature in a systematic way to Italian shop-keepers and laborers. She also secured a translation of the split ballot in the Italian and Hungarian, two languages which had been overlooked and both of which nationalities had a large vote.

The chairman of the finance committee sent appeals to all former contributors to campaign expenses and had at the second meeting of the campaign committee an amount of money sufficient to re-assure the workers and to make certain the success of the plans which involved somewhat large expenditures.

The chairman of the committee on instruction booths secured the consent of fifteen department stores to allow men to instruct their employees on how to vote the split ticket. This was a most unusual proceeding on their part and due in large measure to the tact and personality of the Chairman, Mrs. Nathan. The Society for Political Education also allowed their rooms to be made use of for the same purpose, and in addition to this instructors were sent to all the New York Cab Company stations. The men who acted as instructors were from the Citizens' Union and went at the direction of Mrs. Nathan. In this campaign, where the result hinged on the ability of the voter to vote correctly, the work of this committee was of great importance.

Cards asking for volunteers to aid on election day were also sent out and distributed at 29 Settlements and Church Clubs and appeals for watchers were

also placed on the club bulletins. The volunteers secured in this way reported at Jerome headquarters and helped to swell the list of Jerome workers. At the suggestion of Mr. Price, one of the Jerome nominators, the Secretary of the Woman's Municipal League Campaign Committee took charge of the verification of the Jerome posters, 844 being displayed throughout the city. This took three days and a half work and necessitated the services of six persons a day, the bill posting extending throughout the boroughs of Manhattan and The Bronx.

The chairman of the committee, Miss Chanler, had made definite plans to have all the polling places in the Borough of Manhattan visited twice during election day by wagons carrying sandwiches and coffee. This food was to be supplied to all election workers at a cost of five cents, a mere nominal amount. In connection with this undertaking a few figures might prove of interest: There were 38 wagons used, 6 automobiles, 89 men employed, there were 4,880 campaign workers served and 850 gallons of coffee and 16,000 sandwiches used. The entire work was superintended by Captain Butler.

Through all the busy weeks, the Campaign Workers from The Woman's Municipal League felt the pleasure of the good comradeship and the enthusiasm of their own organization, and in addition the hearty recognition of their work by the members of Mr. Jerome's force and the Citizens' Union and on the 7th day of November insured the triumphant election of William Travers Jerome, they felt the added joy of having aided in a campaign which will long be remembered for its lessons of independent voting and its stinging rebuke to the party "Bosses."

HELEN ARTHUR.

The Consumers' League
of the City of New York.

Room 617, 105 East 22d Street.

The Annual Meeting will be held on Tuesday, January 30th, at 3.30 P. M., at the Manhattan Theatre, Broadway and 33d Street. The President, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, will preside and Mrs. Craigie (John Oliver Hobbes) has kindly consented to be among the speakers.

All interested are cordially invited to attend.

Now that the Christmas rush has passed, and the yearly festivities are over, the Consumers' League can review the situation as it affects the many thousand overtaxed workers who have contributed more than their share to the festival, and have sacrificed their own strength and health that others might make merry.

Never before, the merchants say, has there been such a prosperous season, and never before has there been such a demand for salespeople and for general help in the department stores. The public—perhaps moved by the oft repeated requests of the Consumers' League to begin Christmas shopping early—seemed really to engage earlier in the arduous task of buying their Christmas remembrances. At least the congestion in the stores is reported to have been somewhat less than in previous years. The steadily increasing number of stores that close in the evening is a sign of improvement; in fact, a large majority of the stores on the White List of the Consumers' League closed at 6 P. M.

One of the most interesting incidents in the agitation for early closing at Christmas is the case of a large 14th Street store. It has in previous years always been open till a very late hour during the fortnight between December 15th and January 1st. Last year investigators of the Consumers' League detected very flagrant violations of the Child Labor Laws in this store, which were immediately corrected by the proper authorities, with no little inconvenience to the firm, but with great benefit to the children.

This year the management advertised in the daily papers: "Beginning Friday, December 15th, and continuing until Christmas, our stores will close at 7 P. M. instead of 10 P. M. as in previous holiday seasons. Regretting any inconvenience that this early closing may cause, the benefit to employees will be so great that we trust customers will appreciate this fact, and accommodate themselves to the changed hour. We promise that from 8:30 A. M. to 7 P. M. they will receive such prompt and cheerful attention as to fully compensate for shopping before 7 P. M." The benefit of this change, even in one store, can scarcely be overestimated, when one considers that hundreds of young girls were saved the fatigue of standing on their feet, after a full day's work, for three hours longer, in the overheated and vitiated air of the store, and were able to reach their homes at an early hour in the evening. Only a few years ago cash children from this same store were found on their way home, to a distant part of the city, after 11 P. M. on a bitter winter night. Many of them were twelve years old, and were weeping from fatigue, discouraged at the thought of reporting for duty at 8 o'clock the next morning.

Unfortunately, there are still many stores in Greater New York which are open at the holiday season till 10 P. M. or later. All the chief shopping centres

in Manhattan, including upper Third Ave. and 125th St., were visited in the fortnight before Christmas by investigators of the Consumers' League. The Child Labor Laws are supposed to be enforced in all these stores. They are intended to protect children, so that none can be employed unless they have their working papers (which cannot be obtained until they are 14 years old) and none between the ages of 14 and 16 years can be obliged to work for more than nine hours a day, or after 10 P. M.

What, however, was the actual condition of affairs? On Saturday night before Christmas little tots, employed as cash children, were found making their way through crowds so dense that a grown person could scarcely advance. Little, pale-faced, sleepy children they were; some of them said they were 12 years old, and many looked much younger. When questioned, they answered, "Oh yes, we usually go to school, but we work here during the holidays." This was at 10:30 P. M. after the children had worked all day. Not one store only, but many showed these conditions.

Nothing reveals more clearly the inefficiency of the authorities who are charged with the enforcement of the mercantile law than the condition of affairs described. A year ago the Consumers' League sent in complaints to the Health Department about these very stores, which were amply verified by its inspectors. And yet, the very next season the same violations (evident to the most casual visitor to the store) occurred, apparently without any attempt on the part of the authorities to check them.

Is it too much to expect that the Child Labor Laws should be enforced in the stores, when the same laws applying to factories are in large measure obeyed? The factories are just as much tempted to employ children illegally in their Christmas preparations. The difference can be explained only by the different methods employed by the enforcing authorities. The factory law is enforced by the State Labor Commissioner, and the mercantile law is enforced by the local Health Department. While the Labor Commissioner shows his method of securing compliance with the law, by a record of 122 prosecutions in Greater New York during the past year (prosecutions are begun at the second offense), with total fines of $865 and $1,000 bail forfeited, the Health Commissioner, when questioned about prosecutions, writes: "So far as the prosecution of violations, if there is a third violation, is concerned, I would probably be willing to do so. It would depend on the circumstances of each particular case."

With such a half-hearted enforcement of the law, can one wonder that, year after year, the same violations are committed by the same merchants who have learned that they have nothing to fear from the law? They have found that they can disregard it with impunity.

It is therefore left for private societies to voice public opinion and to insist that the authorities use their power in behalf of the workers. Thus the final appeal to an enlightened public opinion demonstrates the undeniable value of the Consumers' League principle: that the responsibility for such conditions rests with the consumers. When purchasers have learned that, even in the great markets of trade their individual actions exert a far reaching influence, and that a month's forethought in Christmas shopping will relieve merchants of the necessity of overworking their employees, and of impressing little children into their service, then, and then only, will the workers join in a universal holiday.

Stores on the White List which closed at 6 P. M. during the fortnight before Christmas: Aitken, Altman, Arnold, Best, Butterick, Daniells, Freud, Hollander, Jaeger, Evan L. Jenkins, Kinsey, Le Boutillier, Lord & Taylor, Macy, McCreery, McCutcheon, Morrison, Slater, Stern, Thurn, Wanamaker, Madison Avenue, New York and West End Exchanges for Women's Work, Society of Decorative Art, Young Women's C. A.

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. FEBRUARY, 1906 No. 7

The regular Monthly Meeting of the League will be held on Thursday, February 8, at 11 a. m., at the City Club, 55 West 44th Street.

DR. EGBERT GUERNSEY RANKIN, Chairman of the Tuberculosis Committee of the Metropolitan Hospital, will speak on "The City's Tuberculosis Problem."

FRANCES SCHROEDER BOULTON,
Secretary.

Our Criminal Courts.

At the City Club, January 11, 1906, Mr. Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler addressed the monthly meeting of The Woman's Municipal League on the subject of the Criminal Courts of New York. By virtue of Mr. Chanler's fourteen years of experience in these courts, the instruction and information given the League were of unusual interest and value.

To show in the clearest manner the workings of the courts, Mr. Chanler related a typical history of one case from arrest to verdict. The police is notified of the crime, furnished with a description, more or less accurate, of the criminal, and, eager for the credit of an arrest, each man on the beat starts a hunt. Frequently a stray waif, unable to give satisfactory account of himself, and sufficiently answering the description, is picked up and taken along to the station house where he is placed in a line of policemen in plain clothes. The complainant is then brought to identify him, and as he bears more resemblance to the description than any other in the line, the identification is usually complete and prompt. If the prisoner cannot prove an alibi or a convincing identity—in other words, if he be without friends or money—he goes before the police court.

Just here occurs one of the unfortunate differences between the course of law as administered here and as administered in England. The Magistrate in England

has power to scrutinize each case, sift evidence, and decide whether it shall be brought to trial. The lack of any such discretionary power in our magistrates results in the bringing into court of cases for which the evidence is so insufficient that they should never come up at all.

The question is immediately asked the prisoner whether he will demand or waive an examination. Overpersuaded, ignorant, in the rush of the moment he usually waives the examination and is sent to the Tombs to await the action of the Grand Jury. Here in the frequently long delay before his case comes on, he hears the prison gossip continually taking one form—stories of longer sentences imposed on a criminal if he is tried than if he pleads guilty.

The indictment found, the prisoner is brought to the pen. In hundreds of cases, influenced by the Captain of the Court, or attachés of the District Attorney's office, and worked upon by the prison gossip, though innocent he pleads guilty, hoping to win a shorter sentence. If, however, he pleads not guilty and prefers to stand trial, in his friendless and moneyless condition, he is assigned a lawyer. This man is probably rushed to death, and, from force of circumstances, unable to go very deeply into the evidence or to write out to the place from which the prisoner came to learn about him. Again, is it really a jury of his peers which tries the accused? Apparently yes, but the renown of both lawyer and judge appear to rest upon conviction rather than acquittal, and a juror known to be a "crank"—a juror careful about evidence and predisposed to acquittal—is often "excused," leaving a body of men whose natural disposition, though honest, is toward conviction and punishment.

And here the natural ambition of lawyers and judges would seem to be a potent influence. Every good judge and every good lawyer wants to become great. To become great he must become known. The public press, recounting the details of a conspicuous crime, trial and conviction, gives the names of those securing that conviction a publicity obtainable through no other means. The District Attorney with his own name to make can punish a lenient judge given to too frequent acquittals, by keeping from him big cases, and can even decide the jury before which his cases shall be tried. He is able to keep a lawyer sitting about for days awaiting his case, and the judge is able to reply with calmness to the lawyer's questions as to when it is to come up. "The District Attorney does not move the case." These delays result in equal delays to prisoners in the Tombs awaiting trial—a most unfortunate feature of the system.

To sum up, the evil of our system begins with the lack of an examination by the magistrate of the case with its evidence. Such an examination would, in hundreds of instances, result in throwing out the case and liberating the prisoner without delay. Mr. Jerome has shown that the large proportion of acquittals is due not to the skill of the defense, but the entire lack of evidence. The man should simply never have been indicted at all.

Then the Grand Jury has no time for investigation. An Examining Board to scrutinize the case before it goes to the Grand Jury, and present it with notes, would serve to shorten matters and throw out cases which cannot result in convictions, thus saving endless time and expense. But here comes the before-men-

tioned fact that promotion for young lawyers and new judges depends upon reputation for convictions.

"When they try a case," said Mr. Chanler, "they try it for all it is worth."

Space fails for the relation of the several extremely interesting and enlightening incidents told to throw light on the condition of affairs in our criminal courts to-day. But the League has the pleasure in recording Mr. Chanler's expressed conviction that the outlook is better. He finds in his years of experience grounds for sincere optimism. The courts themselves make fewer criminals, and the character of the judges is, on the whole, changing from mercilessness to leniency.

The New York Legislature.

For the information of those members of The Woman's Municipal League who are not familiar with the method of procedure at Albany, the Legislative Committee gives the following details:

New York is one of the six States whose Legislature meets annually. It is composed of two houses,—the upper, the Senate, which consists of fifty members chosen for two years, and the lower, the Assembly, consisting of one hundred and fifty members elected for one year. The Legislature meets on the first Wednesday of January, assembling on New Year's Day to hear the Governor's message, and adjourns until the following Wednesday. This is the rule, but sometimes the Legislature assembles on the following Monday at 8 P. M. On this second assembling the different committees are announced. There are the Committees on Ways and Means, Judiciary, General Laws, Revision, Codes, Taxation and Retrenchment, Canals, Affairs of Cities, Railroads, Commerce and Navigation, Insurance, Banks, Electricity, Gas and Water Supply, Internal Affairs, Labor and Industries, Excise, Affairs of Villages, Fisheries and Game, Public Printing, Public Health, Public Education, Public Lands and Forestry, Public Institutions, Military Affairs, Soldiers' Home, Claims, Federal Relations, Charitable Religious Societies, State Prisons, Privileges and Elections, Trades and Manufactures, Agriculture, Indian Affairs, Rules, Printed and Engrossed Bills, Unfinished Business, Legislative Bill Drafting Department.

The present method of procedure in presenting bills in the Assembly is to deposit them in a bill-box in duplicate. At the close of each day's session, one of each of the bills is handed to the Speaker of the House for examination. The bill receives a number and is indexed. The Speaker has then an opportunity to examine the bill and decide at leisure to which committee it should be referred. At the next session the Speaker gives notice that the various bills have been introduced. He says, "First reading of the bill." The Clerk follows with the stereotyped, "By Mr. ——— of ———, entitled An Act, etc." Then the Speaker refers the bill to the appropriate committee.

The public hearings are generally held before the Committees, and it is in Committee that many bills are killed; for unless they are reported out of Committee, no more notice is taken of them in the two Houses. The bill is then printed and a copy placed on the desk of every member of the Senate and Assembly. Not one word of the text of the bill has been read to the members, and

it is not until the printed form is before them that they know anything about the text. Some members read each bill conscientiously, others never look at them and wait for the leader of their party to indicate the proper vote.

In due time the bill which went to the Committee will be reported for second reading. This does not mean that it will be read through. The Clerk reads the title of the bill and "Section 1, Section 2," etc., and the enacting clause at the end of the document. But where a demand is made, the body of the bill is read from beginning to end. When the bill is up for second reading it may be debated, and if amendments are made from the floor, it goes to the printer to be reprinted with amendments. If no amendments are made, it is ready for a third reading and is sent to the Committee on Revision, where a close examination is made for errors in spelling, punctuation or general make-up, but the Committee has no power to make any change in phraseology. If the Committee makes any recommendations they are embodied in a printed form which must be on the desks of the members at least three days before the bill can be taken up for final action. Usually after coming from the Revision Committee, it stops at the index desk, where it is entered on the books and placed on the daily calendar for final action. On the third reading the various provisions are read, if demanded, but the bill cannot be debated. The vote is taken for or against the measure, and the yeas and nays entered on the Journal. The bill is then sent to the Senate for concurrence, referred to a committee, which either reports the bill for final vote of the Senate or buries it in "Committee." A majority of the whole committee is required to report a bill and it may come up again and again in executive session before it is reported, if ever. The last resort, seldom used, if a bill fails to be reported, is to move to discharge the Committee from further consideration of the bill. This is considered a severe reflection on the Committee and the members who favor the bill will not always vote to discharge. As it requires twenty-six votes to carry this, it is a difficult thing to accomplish. After a final vote in the second House, the successful bill goes to the Governor for his signature, and if signed by him becomes a law. If the Governor returns the bill with objection, the House proceeds to reconsider the vote. If two-thirds of the members on reconsideration, agree to pass the bill, it is sent to the other House with the objections, and if two-thirds of that body vote for the passage of the bill, it is a law notwithstanding the Governor's objection.

The proceedings in the Senate are practically the same as in the Assembly, except that in introducing a bill the presiding officer says, "First reading of the bill," and the Clerk follows with, "The People of the State of New York represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows: ———," then the President of the Senate says, "Second reading of the bill by its title," which the Clerk reads, and the bill then follows the course of those in the Assembly, except that its first and second reading have taken place at the same time. If the bill refers to any given city in New York State, it must receive the signature of the Mayor as well as that of the Governor before it becomes a law.

February, 1905. MARGARET DREIER ROBINS.

STATE SENATORS, ASSEMBLYMEN AND ALDERMEN of the City of New York

Governor, FRANK W. HIGGINS

Chairman Senate Cities Committee, HORACE WHITE
Chairman Assembly Cities Committee, JEAN L. BURNETT

BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN

Bowling Green

Senate—
10. Daniel J. Riordan, D.

Assembly—
1. Thomas B. Caughlan, D.
2. Alfred E. Smith, D.
4. William H. Burns, D.

Aldermen—
1. Andrew J. Doyle, D.
2. Michael Stapleton, D.
4. Herman S. Fried, D.

Corlear's Hook

Senate—
12. Samuel J. Foley, D.

Assembly—
12. M. Eckman, R.M.O.
14. Jacob Fritz, D.
16. G. Hartman, R.M.O.

Aldermen—
12. James J. Smith, R.M.O.
14. John J. Haggerty, D.
16, Frank J. Dotzler, R.M.O.

Kip's Bay

Senate—
14. Thomas F. Grady, D.

Assembly—
18. E. B. La Fetra, D.
20. T. Farnan, R.M.O.
22. T. Rock, R.M.O.

Aldermen—
18. William P. Kenneally, D.
20. Patrick J. Hatton, R.M.O.
23. Leonard L. Jacobson, R.M.O.

The Bowery

Senate—
11. John C. Fitzgerald, D.

Assembly—
6. James Oliver, D.
8. Abraham Harawitz, D.
10. S. Hoffman, R.M.O.

Aldermen—
6. Timothy P. Sullivan, D.
8. Max L. Levine, D.
10. George J. Schneider, R.M.O.

Greenwich

Senate—
13. Bernard F. Martin, D.

Assembly—
3. J. T. Eagleton, D.
5. L. J. Tompkins, D.
7. T. F. Long, R.M.O.

Aldermen—
3. Patrick Higgins, D.
5. George M. Olvany, D.
7. Thomas J. Moffitt, R.M.O.

Murray Hill

Senate—
15. Nathaniel A. Elsberg, R.

Assembly—
25. Ezra P. Prentice, R.
27. George B. Agnew, R.
29. F. DeW. Wells, R.M.O.

Aldermen—
27. Frank D. Sturges, R.
29. Benj. W. B. Brown, R.
31. Clarence R. Freeman, R.M.O.

Chelsea

Senate—
16. John M. Quinn, D.

Assembly—
9. Patrick H. Bird, D.
11. J. J. Sammon, D.
13. John C. Hackett, D.

Aldermen—
9. Frank L. Dowling, D.
11. Reginald S. Doull, D.
13. John J. Callahan, D.

Yorkville

Senate—
18. Jacob Marks, D.

Assembly—
24. J. T. Story, R.M.O.
26. Roger J. Brennan, R.M.O.
28. George Schwegler, D

Aldermen—
26. John J. Cronin, R.M.O.
28. Joseph Krulish, R.M.O.
30. John T. McCall, D.

Washington Heights

Senate—

Part of 19. Alfred R. Page, R.

Assembly—

23. J. A. Francis, R.M.O.
31. J. B. Beihilf, R.

Aldermen—

24. John R. Davies, R.M.O.
25. Max S. Grifenhagen, R.M.O.
33. Elias Goodman, R.M.O.
34. James Cowdin Meyers, R.
36. Charles Ahner, D.

Hudson

Senate—

Part of 17. Martin Saxe, R.

Assembly—

15. Owen W. Bohan, D.
17. C. Steffens, R.M.O.

Aldermen—

15. Frederick Richter, D.
17. John J. Farrell, R.M.O.

Riverside

Senate—

Part of 17. Martin Saxe, R.
Part of 19. Alfred R. Page, R.

Assembly —

19. Mervin C. Stanley, R.M.O.
21. W. Young, R.M.O.

Aldermen—

19. John J. Hahn, R.M.O.
21. Joseph H. Schloss, R.M.O.
22. Charles Hahn, D.

Harlem

Senate—

Part of 20. James J. Frawley, D.
Part of 21. John A. Hawkins, D.

Assembly—

30. M. F. Smith, M.O.
32. Samuel Krulewitsch, R.M.O.
33. J. E. Salomon, D.
Part of 34. Charles Campbell, M.O.

Aldermen—

32. Harry L. Leverett, M.O.
35. Cornelius D. Noonan, R.M.O.
37. Joseph M. Torpey, M.O.

BOROUGH OF THE BRONX

Morrisania

Senate—

Part of 21. John A. Hawkins, D.

Assembly—

Part of 34. Charles Campbell, M.O.
Part of 35. J. P. Cohalan, D.

Aldermen—

38. Charles Kuentze, M.O.
39. Philip L. Harnischfeger, D.
40. Francis J. O'Neill, R.M.O.
41. William E. Morris, D.
42. Arthur H. Murphy, D.

Chester

Senate—

22. Frank M. Carpenter, R.

Assembly—

Part of 35. J. P. Cohalan, D.

Aldermen—

43. Thomas D. Dinwoodie, R.M.O.
44. Thomas J. Mulligan, R.M.O.

BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN

The Heights

Senate—

3. Thomas H. Cullen, D.

Assembly—

1. Thomas O'Neill, R.M.O.
2. P. Donohue, R.M.O.
3. Thomas P. Reilly, D.

Aldermen—

45. Robert F. Downing, R.M.O.
46. James Lawlor, R.M.O.
47. Moses J. Wafer, D.

Red Hook

Senate—

5. J. Kehoe, D.

Assembly—

———

Aldermen—

53. Charles L. Kuck, R.M.O.
54. Michael J. Monahan, D.

Bay Ridge

Senate—
5. J. Kehoe, D.

Assembly—
7. M. J. Grady, D.
8. J. A. Thompson, D.
9. Thomas F. McGuire, D.

Aldermen—
51. Frederick Linde, R.M.O.
52. Lewis M. Potter, R.

Flatbush

Senate—
8. Charles Cooper, R.

Assembly—
16. Charles J. Weber, R.
17. Edward D. Dowling, R.
18. Warren I. Lee, R.

Aldermen—
61. William Wentz, R.
62. Joseph F. Ellery, R.
63. John Hann, R.

Bedford

Senate—
John Drescher, Jr., R.

Assembly—
4. William W. Colne, R.
5. O. G. Foelker, R.M.O.
6. T. J. Surpless, R.M.O.

Aldermen—
48. George Everson, D.
49. Henry Clay Peters, M.O.
50. John Diemer, R.M.O.

Williamsburgh

Senate—
7. Patrick M. McCarren, D.

Assembly—
13. S. J. Palmer, R.M.O.
14. G. W. Kavanaugh, D.
15. C. C. G. Sprenger, R.M.O.

Aldermen—
58. Richard Wright, R.M.O.
59. Patrick S. Keely, D.
60. George Markert, R.M.O.

Prospect Heights

Senate—
6. Frank L. Gardner, R.

Assembly—
10. Charles F. Murphy, R.M.O.
11. William S. Shanahan, D.M.O.
12. G. A. Green, R.M.O.

Aldermen—
55. Adolph L. Kline, R.M.O.
56. James W. Redmond, D.M.O.
57. John D. Gunther, R.M.O.

Bushwick

Senate—
9. Conrad Hasenflug, D.

Assembly—
19. C. Schmitt, R.M.O.
20. C. F. Feth, M.O.
21. F. E. Harvey, M.O.

Aldermen—
64. Jacob Bartscherer, R.M.O.
65. William Rowcraft, M.O.
66. Joseph Falk, M.O.

BOROUGH OF QUEENS

Senate—
2. Luke A. Keenan, D.

Assembly—
1. D. J. Harte, R.M.O.
2. W. A. DeGroot, R.M.O.

Newtown District

Aldermen—
67. William S. Clifford, R.M.O.
68. Casper Herold, R.M.O.

Jamaica District

69. James Ernest Bunting, R.M.O.
70. Michael J. Carter, R.M.O.

BOROUGH OF RICHMOND

Senate—
1. Carll S. Burr, R.

Assembly—
Arnold J. B. Wedemeyer, D.

Staten Island District

Aldermen—
71. John J. Collins, D.
72. David S. Rendt, R.
73. Charles P. Cole, D.

New York City Official Directory.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

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Mayor, George B. McClellan. Secretary, Frank M. O'Brien.

BOROUGH OFFICERS.

BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN, Office, 13 City Hall.

President, John F. Ahearn. Secretary, Bernard Downing.

BOROUGH OF THE BRONX, 177th Street and Third Avenue.

President, Louis F. Haffen. Secretary, Henry A. Gumbleton.

BOROUGH OF BROOKLYN, Office, Borough Hall.

President, Bird S. Coler. Secretary, John A. Heffernan.

BOROUGH OF QUEENS, Hackett Building, Long Island City.

President, Joseph Bermel. Secretary, Alfred Denton.

BOROUGH OF RICHMOND, First National Bank Building, New Brighton.

President, George Cromwell. Secretary, Maybury Fleming.

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

President Board of Aldermen, Patrick F. McGowan, Rooms 11, 12, City Hall.

City Clerk, P. J. Scully.

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE, Stewart Building, Chambers Street and Broadway.

Comptroller, Herman A. Metz.

COMMISSIONER OF LICENSES, John N. Bogart, 277 Broadway.

LAW DEPARTMENT, Staats-Zeitung Building.

Corporation Counsel, John J. Delany.

POLICE DEPARTMENT, 300 Mulberry Street.

Commissioner, Theodore A. Bingham. Deputy, Rhinelander Waldo.

DEPARTMENT OF BRIDGES, 21 Park Row.

Commissioner, James W. Stevenson. Deputy, Frank I. Ulrich.

DEPARTMENT OF DOCKS AND FERRIES, Battery Place, Pier "A," N. R.

Commissioner, John A. Bensel. Deputy, Dennis A. Judge.

DEPARTMENT OF WATER SUPPLY, GAS AND ELECTRICITY, 21 Park Row.

Commissioner, William B. Ellison. Deputy, Frank J. Goodwin.

FIRE DEPARTMENT, 157-159 East 67th Street.

Commissioner, John H. O'Brien. Deputy, Hugh Bonner.

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION, 148 East 20th Street.

Commissioner, Francis J. Langtry. Deputy, George W. Meyer, Jr.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC CHARITIES, Foot East 26th Street.

Commissioner, Robert W. Hebberd. Deputy, James E. Dougherty

BROOKLYN AND QUEENS, 126-128 Livingston Street, Brooklyn.

Deputy Commissioner, James J. McInerney.

TENEMENT HOUSE DEPARTMENT, 44 East 23rd Street.

Commissioner, Edmond J. Butler. Deputy, H. G. Dr·v

BROOKLYN, QUEENS AND RICHMOND, 44 Court Street.

Deputy Commissioner, John McKeown.

DEPARTMENT OF STREET CLEANING, 21 Park Row.

Commissioner, John McGaw Woodbury. Deputy, F. M. Gibson.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, 55th Street and 6th Avenue.

Commissioner, Thomas Darlington.

DEPARTMENT OF PARKS, The Arsenal, Central Park.

Commissioner, Moses Herrman.

BROOKLYN AND QUEENS, Litchfield Mansion, Prospect Park, Brooklyn.

Commissioner, Michael J. Kennedy.

THE BRONX, Zbrowski Mansion, Claremont Park.

Commissioner, George M. Walgrove.

DEPARTMENT OF TAXES AND ASSESSMENTS, Stewart Building, Chambers Street and Broadway.

President, Frank A. O'Donnel.

The public offices of the city are generally open on business days from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M., except on Saturdays, when they close at noon.

The Consumers' League

of the City of New York.

Room 617, 105 East 22d Street.

Mrs. Frederick Nathan, *President*

Miss Helen Phelps Stokes, *1st Vice-President.*
Mrs. Hugh Monroe Dewees, *2d Vice-President.*
Miss Alice H. Day, *Treasurer.*
Miss Effie R. Waddington, *Recording Secretary.*
Miss Geo. K. B. Wade, *Corresponding Secretary.*
Miss Pauline Goldmark, *Executive Committee.*

Extracts from reports delivered at the annual meeting of the Consumers' League held on January 30, 1906:

The President announced that, through the generosity of one of the Board members, a prize of fifty dollars ($50.00) is offered for the best essay on the Consumers' League. It must treat of the Consumers' League: its principles, aims, methods and field of action, as well as give practical suggestions for the immediate extension of its work.

The competition is open to women students, graduate or undergraduate, who are engaged in work at any college in the United States, and the essays must be submitted before October 15, 1906. Mr. John Graham Brooks, the president of the National Consumers' League; Mrs. Florence Kelley, the secretary; and Prof. Charles Zeublin of Chicago University have consented to act as judges.

The competition is thought to be of educational value, because it offers a stimulus to students of social economics to acquaint themselves with an attempted solution of one of the great social problems of the day, namely the ethics of spending.

During the past year the Governing Board has raised its Standard of a Fair House (by which it judges the eligibility of a store for the White List), in two particulars, consequent upon a recognized rise in general wages paid to the employees of the large department stores of the city. Its minimum wage for cash-children has been raised from $2.00 to $2.50. Employers say that not many years ago they could put out a sign "Children wanted" in the morning, and by noon obtain all the children needed, at $1.50 or $2.00 a week. But the demand for the unskilled labor of children has increased so much during the past few years, and the operation of the Child Labor Laws has become so much more effective, that many merchants find they must pay $3.00 to children under 16 years.

In connection with this change, it may be of interest to mention that the Governing Board considers compliance with the Child Labor Laws of such vital importance that it has recently voted to remove from its White List any firm found violating these laws, and further, that any such firm ahall be reinstated only after it has complied with the League's standard for a full year.

The Board has also substituted for the clause "A Fair House is one in which the minimum wage is $6.00 a week for experienced adult workers" the following: "A Fair House is one in which no saleswoman who is 18 years old or older and who has had one year's experience as a saleswoman, receives less than $6.00 a week." Both these changes in the Standard of the League register a distinct advance in the conditions of labor found in the department stores of the city. The League's policy is always to support the action of the most enlightened employers, and it embodies in its Standard, as soon as practicable, every concession made to employees in so vital a matter as wages. This is the more important as there seems to be a dangerous tendency, in some stores, to lower the average wage by taking on young and inexperienced saleswomen, instead of older and more

experienced ones—one of many examples of the present tendency to replace adult workers by children and young people.

A new and very interesting line of investigation has been undertaken this year. More and more of our members are interested in the source of ready-made suits, waists and children's garments offered for sale, and have asked why prominent "ready-to-wear houses" are not put on the White List. There has been a wide-spread belief that the placing of any house on our White List is a recommendation of the goods offered for sale, as well as of the selling conditions of the store. Because of the evils involved in the manufacture of women's clothing, it has seemed unwise to recommend stores selling only ready-made garments, if such a recommendation implies to members any guarantee of conditions under which goods are manufactured. If, however, it is clearly understood that the White List recommends only the *selling conditions* of its houses, there is no reason why any specialty firm should not be included in the list provided that its selling conditions are commendable.

Where the firms have work-rooms on the premises, these are visited by the Investigating Committee, but it is to be distinctly understood that the name of a firm on a garment is no guarantee that it has been made on the premises of the firm It cannot be too often repeated that the Label of the National Consumers League is the only guarantee of *good conditions of production*. Where it is used, the State Factory Law is obeyed, all the goods are made on the premises, overtime is not worked, and children under 16 years of age are not employed. The National League gives this guarantee only for women's white muslin underwear. Garments with the label can be found in New York City at Wanamaker's, and the Rubdry Towel, also labelled, can be bought at all the department stores.

WHITE LIST, February 1, 1906.

(Please read this list carefully, as there have been recent changes.)

The Governing Board recommends to its members, and to all others interested in the welfare of working women and girls, the *selling conditions* in the following Retail Houses, because, so far as the Board can learn, these Houses deal justly by their employees and approach nearest to the Principles and Standard of the League:

Aitken, Son & Co.
* A. Alexander
B. Altman & Co.
Arnold, Constable & Co.
Barnett Bros.
Best & Co.
A. H. Brummell
Butterick Pub. Co.
Cammeyer
Cremins & Roche
John Daniell & Sons
Joseph Dannenberg
Forsythe
Frank Bros.
Freud's
Hannis & LeVey.
L. P. Hollander & Co.
Huyler's
Jaeger
Evan L. Jenkins
H. Kaempfer
Wm. S. Kinsey & Co.
Geo. F. Langenbacher
Le Boutillier Bros.
Lord & Taylor
R. H. Macy & Co.
James McCreery & Co.
** James McCutcheon & Co.
Madison Ave. Exchange for Woman's Work
F. A. Morrison & Son
New York Exchange for Woman's Work
Saks & Co.
H. O'Neill & Co.
Scharles Bros.
F. A. O Schwartz
Franklin Simon
Simpson, Crawford Co.
J. & J. Slater
Society of Decorative Art
Spreter
Stern Bros.
Mme. L. Thurn
A. A. Vantine & Co.
John Wanamaker
West End Exchange for Woman's Work
Young Woman's Christian Association

* The shoe dealers, Arnold, McClenahan & O'Neill, less than three women are employed; ** linen merchants, McGibbon & Co., only men are employed, so not included in the White List. Conditions excellent. It will be seen that only firms in certain lines of trade have thus far been investigated.

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. MARCH, 1906 No. 8

The regular Monthly Meeting of the League will be held on Thursday, March 8, at 11 a. m., at the City Club, 55 West 44th Street.

MR. MARK SULLIVAN, who has been making a complete investigation of the patent medicine business, will speak on "Patent Medicine Frauds."

KATHERINE T. RHODES,
Assistant Secretary.

The City's Tuberculosis Problem.

BY DR. EGBERT GUERNSEY RANKIN

Delivered before The Woman's Municipal League, February 8th, 1906

What, in other words, is the city of New York doing for its 50,000 tuberculosis inhabitants—for that is the estimate of the Board of Health. Fifty thousand active, constantly operative foci of infection! How active is shown by the reports to the Board of Health last year of nearly 21,000 new cases. What is the city doing to lessen the yearly mortality of nearly ten thousand from a preventable disease, the cause of which is definite and positive?

It may be of interest to recall the fact, which is not generally known, that the infectious nature of tuberculosis was long ago recognized or at least suspected. Aristotle attributed its propagation to the vitiation of the air by infected persons; Alexander Aphrodionis, who lived in the second century, regarded the breath of phthisical patients as poisonous. These theories were accepted by the Arabian physicians, who were the most advanced of their time. Fracaster of Verona, who lived in the early part of the sixteenth century, said that infection was conveyed by fine particles, thus crudely anticipating modern bacteriology. At Nantes, France, in 1750, the clothing of those suffering from the disease was burned in the public market place. In 1754, we read that the government of Florence adopted stringent laws in regard to infection from those suffering from consumption. Laws were also formulated in Bologna, Venice, and certain cities of Spain. But the true nature of tuberculosis appears not to have become generally understood, and the theory of its infectiousness was either forgotten or positively refuted, for we read that in 1837 the Faculty of Naples, when interrogated as to its infectiousness, replied in the negative.

All Communications should be sent to THE WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE,
Room 1509, 31 Union Square, West

In 1882 Koch made known to the world the existence of the tubercle bacilli. It naturally took considerable time for the revival of the theory of the infectious nature of tuberculosis to become generally accepted by the medical profession and the public at large, but even when making due allowance for obviously natural delay, legislative action, both State and municipal, in regard to this question was slow.

As all agree that the successful management of pulmonary tuberculosis is limited to the early periods, and as the vast majority of persons suffering from the disease do not appear for treatment until in a more or less advanced stage, it is evident that the fairest prospect for the eradication of the disease lies in prevention. This, in fact, is the key of the situation. There are two aspects of this great question of *prevention*—the public, and the private or individual. It is the former which concerns us to-day. Bearing in mind that the dryness of the sputum from a tuberculosis patient, with the consequent freeing of the bacillus, its escape in the atmosphere and subsequent inhalation, is the main source of infection and the most difficult one to manage, we find ourselves in possession of the principal factor of this all-important question.

Let us see what the city of New York is doing to solve this great problem. There are four departments to which we would naturally look for its solution. These are the Department of Public Charities, the Department of Health, the Department of Street Cleaning, and the new Tenement House Department.

First, as to the Department of Charities: Up to January 31, 1902, there was no provision in our municipal hospitals for the proper care of persons suffering from tuberculosis. They were in every institution—frequently in wards, it is true, set apart for them, but these wards were in close proximity to others containing patients free from tuberculous infection. Moreover, overcrowding frequently compelled the placing of tuberculous patients in the same wards with the non-tuberculous. Again, sometimes there were not even tuberculous wards. This condition of affairs simply served to disseminate the disease, and at the same time the total absence of conditions suitable for the treatment of tuberculosis tended to its more rapid progress in individual cases. It is pleasant to record that the Department of Charities has corrected this deplorable condition of affairs. In 1902 it opened the first municipal institution for the exclusive care of tuberculosis—the Tuberculosis Department of the Metropolitan Hospital on Blackwell's Island, known as the Tuberculosis Infirmary. First suggested by the Medical Board of the Metropolitan Hospital, the city is indebted to the Hon. Homer Folks, then Commissioner of Charities, for putting this plan into effect,—one of the most important in the annals of public health.

A few details as to the Metropolitan Infirmary. It receives patients in all stages of the disease. A very large proportion are far advanced. It is noteworthy that many of these advanced cases have never before applied for treatment, being very poor persons who have struggled on to work and have worked until their strength has utterly failed. Its normal capacity, including 14 tents, is about 450. The buildings, among which is a fine solarium for men, are fairly well suited for their purpose, but are not in good repair and are incomplete in certain important details, namely, a solarium for women, an operating room, elevator, and an isolating ward. The total cost per diem of a patient is 73 1-3 cents. The institution is much hampered in that it is compelled to care for many more patients than its air space or nursing corps admits. Its present census is 593. This overcrowding arises simply from the fact that the Charities Department has not sufficient room for these unfortunates. This condition is indeed but a sample of the overcrowding which is prevailing in our city hospitals. For example, in the Metropolitan Hospital at the present time there is a ward with a capacity of 70 which has 105 patients.

The responsibility for this situation does not lie alone with the Department of Charities. It is doing the best it can with the limited means at its command. It rests with the Board of Apportionment, and back of that, with public opinion. Notwithstanding, the Metropolitan Hospital in its tuberculosis department is doing a great work, the value of which cannot be overestimated, not that it is turning out a large percentage of patients in whom the disease has been arrested, for that is manifestly impossible when one considers the hopelessly advanced type of most of its cases—although it has a very creditable showing as to both arrested and improved cases—but that its establishment has afforded a suitable place, with good hygienic surroundings, for the segregation of the tuberculous; it has permitted the removal of all tuberculosis cases from the general hospitals of the Department, and thus afforded an opportunity for the care of the disease which heretofore never existed in this city.

In addition to the Metropolitan Hospital, there are 60 beds for tuberculosis in the out-patient department of Bellevue Hospital,* and also about fifteen or twenty in the Kings County Hospital. The city may also send its tuberculosis patients to the following non-municipal institutions, for which it pays 80 cents per day: St. Joseph's, 410; St. Peter's, 86; St. Vincent's, 70; Lincoln, 45; Seton, 381, and the State Hospital at Raybrook, 85, making a total of 990 beds. There are also the following institutions which are in no way connected with the city, which afford beds for tuberculosis patients: Montefiori Sanitarium, 171; Montefiori Home, 44; Brooklyn Home, 119; Mount Sinai Hospital, 10; House of Rest for Consumptives, 39; and Seaside Camp for non-pulmonary cases, 54, making a total of 437. There are also 96 beds to be added to the tuberculosis divisions of Bellevue and its allied hospitals.

The Charities Department has in view another and much more extensive institution, namely, a sanatorium on its farm at Staten Island, to accommodate 800 patients. The plans are all under way and $1,000,000 already appropriated.

There are also dispensaries at Bellevue, Gouverneur and Harlem Hospitals, for the special treatment of tuberculosis.

Let us now turn to the Health Department. Here we find the Riverside Hospital with 85 beds and plans for an institution to accommodate 500 at Otisville in the Shawmangunk Mountains. also an additional 125 to the Riverside Hospital.

Thus there are about 2,025 available free beds for pulmonary tuberculosis, and 1,520 in contemplation.

The Health Board work goes far beyond hospitals. The direct administration, in fact the control of tuberculosis, is essentially under its jurisdiction. It affords means for the free examination of suspected sputum, and daily collects specimens from 273 sub-stations. In 1905, it made 18,639 free examinations of this nature. It also sends physicians and nurses to the houses of those infected, to give instruction as to the limitation of the infection, unless the reporting physician requests otherwise. It distributes thousands of circulars containing valuable information, printed in various languages, for consumptives, their households and their neighbors. It disinfects rooms in which tuberculous patients have died, or from which they have been removed. It maintains a special clinic and dispensary for pulmonary tuberculosis, and finally, as we all know, it has posted in public places, conveyances and buildings, prohibitive notices in regard to expectoration. This most important measure has had a very noticeable effect. At the same time it is not enforced with the vigor with which it should be. Who ever saw an employee of a railway, conductor or guard, remonstrate with an expectorating passenger? It is a matter of national humiliation that such a notice in our American cities is of special necessity. On the whole, it seems to me that the Board

* Bellevue Hospital is not under the control of the Department of Public Charities, but for convenience has been placed in this connection.

of Health has contributed largely toward the solution of this difficult problem, and much praise is due it.

Now let us turn to the Street Cleaning Department. Recalling the fact that infection from tuberculosis arises principally from the inhalation of particles from the dried sputum, it is needless, especially with the prevailing propensity of public expectoration, to emphasize the importance of clean streets. The streets of New York are no doubt cleaner than they were many years ago, especially the principal thoroughfares, but there is much room for improvement, as mediæval management still prevails to a large extent. In the poorer sections of the city the streets are very often dirty, and last winter many were in a deplorable condition. It is in the poorer sections, as we all know, that disease breeds more plentifully, and tuberculosis in particular thrives. Again, we are treated daily at all hours to the sight of uncovered or imperfectly covered carts removing refuse. The Street Cleaning Department is not alone in this offense—the carts licensed by the Board of Health to remove refuse are also uncovered. Again, frequently little piles of street sweepings meet our gaze, left for the wind to blow around, as it does also the refuse from the uncovered carts, thus affording the public an ample opportunity to inhale. Why cannot all refuse be removed and the streets cleaned before eight in the morning, as is done in Paris? In London, also, the streets are cleaned early in the morning, flushed and sprinkled with a disinfectant. Of course we must all acknowledge that the streets of New York are far behind those of Paris and London—but why?

The Tenement House Department is an ally of importance. In its warfare in the tenements against dark interior rooms, foul air shafts and bad plumbing, it will effect much benefit when it succeeds in removing these conditions, so favorable to the propagation of disease.

There are other factors in the control of the disease which call for mention, although non-municipal and perhaps not strictly within the scope of our subject. These are the Committee on Prevention of Tuberculosis of the Charity Organization Society, whose work is direct; and the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, the United Hebrew Charities, and the Diet Kitchen, which are all contributive.

The united effort of all these forces has not been without result. The following figures from the division of communicable diseases of the Board of Health show what the city has accomplished in this direction. In 1881, the death rate of New York from pulmonary tuberculosis, per 1,000 inhabitants, was 4.2. Statistics show that it has steadily fallen since then, until in 1904 for Greater New York it was only 2.21 per 1,000—a reduction of almost fifty per cent. In other words, in 1881, with a population of 1,244,511, there were 5,212 deaths from pulmonary tuberculosis; while in 1904, when the population had increased to 3,838,-034, there were only 8,495 deaths from this disease—an increase of less than 60 per cent in the deaths, though the population had increased almost 200 per cent. These figures, it will be observed, compare the Greater City in 1904 with Manhattan alone in 1881. Again, for Greater New York 1898 the death rate of tuberculosis was 2.69; in 1905, 2.40. It is estimated that since 1894 there has been a reduction of 20 per cent in the deaths from tuberculous diseases.

You will thus observe that much has been done by the city and private organizations toward solving the great tuberculosis problem. New York, in fact, is the most advanced city in the United States in the public and private control of tuberculosis.

But you will also see that what has been done is only a beginning. Remember that nearly 10,000 persons died of tuberculosis last year. Let me also remind you that 20,821 new cases were reported last year to the Board of Health; that of all deaths in the city those of tuberculosis constituted 13.1 per cent; that our

institutions are overcrowded, and in spite of all that has been done infection goes on slowly, subtly, and insidiously, with such a long indefinite period between its inception and the manifestation of symptoms that it is usually impossible to trace the source of infection.

What, then, can be done? First, hasten the completion of the various sanatoria which are planned. These must be of two classes as to situation. One, far out in the country; and the other in a rural district close to the city. Nearness to the city is an absolute essential for at least some of such institutions. Next, a more rigid enforcement of the law in regard to expectoration in public, cleaner streets; cleaning the streets before the majority of the population are about—namely, early in the morning; the removal of the refuse in well-covered carts, also early in the morning; and the more general flushing of the streets.

There are other aspects to this great problem which to my mind from a practical standpoint are of difficult solution. What, for example, is to be done with a tuberculous man or woman with a family to support, who is yet strong enough to work? What is to be done with the tuberculous patient who insists upon leaving the hospital, perhaps improved, to return to work, or perhaps not improved, to return home to die? Both these classes are without doubt most active factors in the dissemination of infection.

Whenever I see an infected patient leave the Infirmary on Blackwell's Island, I know he is at liberty to spread his infection unchecked in utter defiance of our knowledge; thus illustrating the great necessity of new regulations and laws. This occurs every day.

It seems to me that the surest way to answer these difficult questions and to solve the problem of tuberculosis is, first, to appoint a commission to go over all the aspects of the situation and then posssibly ultimately establish a department or bureau for the separate management of the disease. Such a body would naturally eventually evolve measures and means to answer all these difficult questions. Its establishment would in itself be an important factor in educating the public and shaping public opinion as to the importance of prevention. It is on this line, indeed, namely, education, that we must continue to press these questions. Here we must look to each individual. Each and every one can assist. As the ignorant and careless spread tuberculosis infection, so the many intelligent and thoughtful act as agents of prevention. This can be done by exciting interest among one's acquaintances in the private organizations whose aim is the elimination of tuberculous diseases, by the distribution of literature, circulars, etc.; by co-operating in child labor and tenement house reform movements, in factory legislation, and in the more rigid enforcement of existing laws. The one factor of tenement house reform is intimately associated with the subject under discussion.

While we must look to legislation, we must not wait for it to take the initiative, but endeavor to hasten its enactment. We must seek to increase the knowledge of the public in regard to the measures necessary for the proper control and eradication of tuberculosis until public sentiment is in harmony with more stringent laws—laws which must supervise all cases of tuberculosis, and positively restrain the irresponsible—the irresponsible infected man or woman who lives in some wretched lodging or tenement house in defiance of every rule of hygiene. Such must be restrained. Remember that infection from such a source may strike any home—yours or mine. This means that we must have more hospitals and more sanatoria for the tuberculous. It means the forcible retention in such institutions of a certain class of cases. To bring about all this, let me repeat we must seek to educate the public. Education of the public, in short, as to the true nature of tuberculosis, is the underlying element which alone can lead to the final solution of this great problem.

Committee on Legislation.

Bills Introduced into Legislature up to Date.

(The Committee on Legislation is indebted for the following statement to Travis H. Whitney Secretary of the Committee on Legislation of the Citizens' Union.)

Classification of Bills.

A classification of the 1,300 bills so far introduced is as follows:

Affecting New York City, about	400
Affecting Buffalo	35
Affecting other cities, towns and villages	120
Other local and special bills	115
Amending railroad law or relating to railroads	70
Amending civil, penal and criminal codes	100
Relating to election law and corrupt practices	35
Forest, fish and game amendments	75
Constitutional amendments	21
Escheat bills	13
Conferring jurisdiction on court of claims	20
Total	1,004

The remaining 300 bills are appropriation bills or proposed general laws or amendments to general laws.

Bills Affecting New York City.

Below is given a brief summary of local and special bills affecting New York City as to certain subjects. We will issue statements later as to bills, not enumerated below, which deal with (1) rapid transit and railroads, (2) election law and corrupt practices, (3) street and park opening commissioners, (4) excise, (5) code amendments, (6) bills as to the judiciary, and (7) constitutional amendments, in so far as the last three classes affect the city.

Bills Increasing Salaries or Number of Employees.

At the present time the charter gives the city authorities very broad powers as to fixing salaries and increasing places, notwithstanding the amounts fixed elsewhere in the charter. This does not apply, however, to special acts or to county offices when salaries therein are fixed by special acts. The first bill below, by Mr. Prentice, would cure this, and if it becomes a law the city authorities will be able to have control over all salaries paid by the taxpayers of the city, and practically all of the following bills, and similar ones, would therefore be out of place at Albany:

A. Introd. 772, Prentice, Rep., 25 N. Y. Giving Board of Estimate power to fix salaries, regardless of amount already fixed in charter or by any other law of the State.

S. 365, Cooper, Rep. Amending civil service law by providing that where salaries of veterans were reduced in accordance with the so-called "Low Sweeys Bills," they shall be restored to their original figure and the amount of past deductions shall be paid.

A. 531, Story, Rep., 24 N. Y. Amending charter by increasing salaries of Aldermen from $1,000 to $2,000.

A. 547, DeGroot, Rep., Queens. Fixing salary of Chief County Court Clerk of Queens at $3,000, a court crier at $1,000, interpreters at $1,000, and court attendants at $1,500.

S. 239, Keenan, Dem. Board of Estimate may allow reasonable compensation to County Judge of Queens for services as Commissioner of Jurors.

S. 424, Saxe, Rep. Amending tax law providing for appointment of an Assistant Recording Clerk in New York County at $900.

S. 326, Fitzgerald, Dem. Increasing salary of Under Sheriff of New York County from $5,000 to $6,000 and of Assistant Deputy Sheriffs from $1,000 to $1,500.

S. 444, Grady, Dem. Increasing number of Deputy Sheriffs of New York County from 12 to 18.

A. 262, Stanley, Rep., 19 N. Y., and S. 205, Page. Rep. Fixing salaries of attendants and messengers of Surrogate's Court of New York County at $1,500.

A. 857, Prentice, Rep., 25 N. Y. Providing that Sheriff of New York County shall be allowed necessary expenses, not exceeding $3,000 per year for three years following expiration of term.

S. 167, Cooper, Rep., Kings. A. 370, Sprenger, Rep., 15 Kings. As to County Clerk's office in Kings County, increasing force by adding four new employees, whose salaries amount to $4,900.

A. 550, Dowling, Rep. 17 Kings. As to County Clerk's office of Kings County, increasing salaries of four employees in that office to amount of $1,400.

S. 60, Gardner, Rep. S. 75, Cooper, Rep. A. 130, Dowling, Rep., 17 Kings. Repealing act as to expenses of judicial sales in Kings County. The effect of this is to divert about $30,000 in fees which now go into the City Treasury.

S. 181, Gardner, Rep. A. 420, 756, Harvey, M. O., 21 Kings. As to Register's office, Kings County, increasing force by adding 61 new employees and increasing budget, amounting to 80,300.

S. 247, Cullen, Dem. A. 196, Shanahan, Dem., 11 Kings. Authorizing Justices of Special Sessions of Brooklyn to appoint a female probation officer at $1,200.

A. 781, Burns, Dem., 4 N. Y. Amending charter by fixing salary of pilots and masters of fire boats at $1,700.

A. 816, Young, Rep., 21 N. Y. Fixing salary of court attendants in Municipal Court at $1,500.

S. 323, Hawkins, Dem. Amending consolidation act by providing for fees for stenographers of Supreme Court, criminal part.

A. 210, Young, Rep., 21 N. Y. Fixing salaries of record clerks of General Sessions at $2,000.

A. 551, Eagleton, Dem., 3 N. Y. Amending charter so that laborers shall be paid for legal holidays.

A. 632, Green, Rep., 12 Kings. Amending charter so that park laborers in Brooklyn and Queens shall receive a monthly compensation based upon their present per diem compensation.

A. 447, Hartman, Rep., 16 N. Y. Amending charter by increasing pay in Street Cleaning Department of dumpboard men, sweepers and drivers and stablemen from $720 to $800 and providing for additional compensation for work in excess of 48 hours per week.

A. 500, Prentice, Rep., 25 N. Y. Amending charter so that Board of Estimate may pay additional compensation to Federal Judges.

A. 505, Brennan, Rep., 20 N. Y. Amending charter as to street cleaning employees by restricting hours of labor and providing for additional compensation for work in excess of 48 hours per week.

A. 624, LaFetra, Dem., 18 N. Y. Increasing number of City Court Judges from six to nine and fixing their salaries at $12,000, and giving judges discretion in appointment of court employees.

A. 766, Burns, Dem., 4 N. Y. Increasing number of City Court Judges from six to eleven. Otherwise similar to LaFetra bill.

A. 394, Folker, Rep., 5 Kings. Authorizing City Court Judges to appoint personal clerks at not to exceed $1,500 per year.

A. 100, LaFetra, Dem., 18 N. Y. Increasing number of stenographers to be appointed by City Court Clerk from 3 to 6.

Tenement House Law.

Of the bills changing the tenement house law the last three below are particularly bad:

S. Introd. 396, Saxe, Rep. Amending tenement house law by exempting the "Studio Buildings."

A. 480, Cohalan, Dem., 35 N. Y. Amending tenement house law exempting from its operations houses of certain character containing only three families.

A. 481, Cohalan, Dem., 35 N. Y. Amending tenement house law so as to allow Commissioner to modify its regulations where they would be impracticable in any case and allowing him to remit fines and penalties for violations of the law.

A. 315, Eagleton, Dem., 3 N. Y. Amending tenement house law so that it shall apply only to houses containing more than three families instead of three or more families as at present. This will take about 22,000 houses from under the supervision of the law.

Water Bills.

Bills affecting the general water problem of the city are chiefly devoted to hampering the city in Ulster County. As the Chairman of the Assembly Committee on Electricity, Gas and Water Supply is George B. Agnew, a New York City Assemblyman, only reasonable and just amendments will be able to pass the Committee.

A. 483, Cunningham, Rep., 2 Ulster. Amending general municipal law so as to prohibit a municipal or other corporation from acquiring by condemnation for the purposes of increasing the water supply of any municipal corporation, not situated in Ulster County, or for supplying the inhabitants of any municipal corporation not situated in Ulster County, any lands, easements, streams or water rights in that county.

A. 668, Fowler, Rep., 1 Ulster. Amending New York City water act by providing that real estate and appurtenances shall be taxable in the counties and taxation districts where they are situated and that the assessment, levy and collection shall be under and in accordance with the State tax law.

A. 593, Fowler, Rep., 1 Ulster. Amending the New York City water act by authorizing the County of Ulster to employ deputy sheriffs, posses, or peace officers to maintain peace because of the presence of employees on the city water system; and providing further that the expense of such policing shall be a charge against the New York City.

A. 528, Fowler, Rep., 1 Ulster. The City of New York water act, section 41, now authorizes the city of Kingston to take water from the New York City reservoir. The bill amends this section so that "any other municipality that of natural right, by reason of location might use the water of Esopus Creek or

other creek or stream in Ulster County acquired for a water supply" may take water from the New York City reservoir.

A. 527, Fowler, Rep., 1 Ulster. New York City water act, section 13, now authorizes the Board of Estimate to agree, or, if no agreement can be reached, authorizes the Commissioners of Appraisal to fix the amount to be paid to any duly incorporated corporation operating a steam railroad where loss, damage or expense, direct or consequential, has resulted from the taking of land for water purposes. This bill amends this so that the damages shall be payable to any person or corporation instead of merely to a railroad corporation.

A. 221, Fowler, Rep., 1 Ulster. S. 160, Cordts, Rep. Amending New York City water act by omitting the present restriction that Kingston can use a quantity of water from the New York reservoir in the proportion of the inhabitants of the two cities. This bill adds a provision that the rate to be paid by Kingston for water taken (which would be unlimited in quantity) shall be fixed by the State Water Supply Commission, but cannot exceed the rate at present charged by the Kingston water system. Before any water can be diverted by the city from Esopus Creek it must, at its own expense, but under the direction of Kingston authorities, build, change or reconstruct sanitary sewers now discharging into Esopus Creek so that they shall empty into the Hudson. The city shall be liable for all damages for such reconstruction and shall, at its own expense but in the name of Kingston, acquire all necessary private lands.

A. 523, Agnew, Rep., 27 N. Y. Amending the State water act by including "any person or private water works corporation," so that the present requirement of application to the State Commission shall apply not only to municipal corporations but also to private persons. The bill also fixes the salaries of the State Commissioners at $5,000.

A. 145, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. Amending New York City water act by repealing limit of 20 years on term for which corporate stock is to be issued for payment of expenses of all kinds.

Bills Allowing Rehearings and Reinstatements and Relating to Promotions.

A. 602, Thompson, Dem., 8 Kings. Amending charter so that investigation of record and character of an applicant for promotion in police or fire department shall be limited to within three years prior to application.

S. 366, Fitzgerald, Dem. Authorizing Police Commissioner to reinstate detective sergeants retired within two years.

A. 715, DeGroot, Rep., 2 Queens. Legalizing appointment of Thomas S. Baldwin as police captain in former village of Richmond Hill and making him police captain at the present time and providing for back pay.

A. 390, A. E. Smith, Dem., 2 N. Y. Rehearing for Joseph Devlin, Police Department.

A. 445, Hartman, Rep., 16 N. Y. Rehearing for Joseph E. Burke, Police Department.

A. 484, Hackett, Dem., 13 N. Y. Rehearing for Jacob Simermeyer, Police Department.

A. 255, LaFetra, Dem., 18 N. Y. Rehearing for Charles E. Savage, Police Department.

A. 150, Murphy, Rep., 10 Kings. Rehearing for John W. Nelson, Police Department.

A. 713, Caughlin, Dem., 1 N. Y. Rehearing for Martin J. Perkinson, Police Department.

A. 249, LaFetra, Dem., 18 N. Y. Rehearing for Francis J. Hughes, Police Department.

A. 319, Harvey, M. O., 21 Kings. Rehearing for Joseph McNamara, Fire Department.

A. 592, Brennan, Rep., 20 N. Y. Rehearing for William H. Weiss, Fire Department.

A. 169, Murphy, Rep., 10 Kings. Rehearing for W. E. Collins, Fire Department.

A. 712, Dohan, Dem., 15 N. Y. Reinstatement for Daniel W. Price, Fire Department.

A. 596, Murphy, Rep., 10 Kings. Rehearing for John A. Walsh, Street Cleaning Department.

S. 38, Hasenflug, Dem. Reinstatement for John Walsh, Street Cleaning Department.

A. 144, Sammon, Dem., 11 N. Y. Rehearing for A. S. Weidler, Water Department.

A. 720, Hackett, Dem. 13 N. Y. Rehearing for Henry Head, engineer, Dock Department.

Claims Against the City Not Collectible in the Courts.

A. 441, DeGroot, Rep., 2 Queens. Authorizing Board of Estimate to pay volunteer firemen of Queens and Richmond for services from time of consolidation and providing for fixing of annual compensation for volunteer firemen. Amount thus called for would be about $2,000,000.

A. 423, Salomon, Dem., 33 N. Y. Claim of John F. Walsh for services in Department of Education.

A. 298, Wedemeyer, Dem., Richmond. Claim of minor daughter of Joseph Parker, volunteer fireman.

S. 334, Burr, Rep. Claim of J. T. Ellett and Frank Miller for services as secretary and watchman to Richmond County Park Commissioners.

S. 277, Hawkins, Dem. Claim of Bartholomew Moynahan for services as stenographer of Supreme Court, criminal term.

S. 230, Grady, Dem. Claim of James J. Bulkley of $65,000 for constructing a public comfort station in New York Zoological Park.

A. 501, Prentice, Rep., 25 N. Y. Claim of Samuel Lewis for seal furnished to Armory Board.

A. 297, Wedemeyer, Dem., Richmond. Claim of Richard Davis for injuries sustained as a volunteer fireman.

A. 426, Kavanagh, Dem., 14 Kings. Claim of John W. Carpenter for services as Municipal Court Clerk.

A. 543, Herawitz, Dem., 8 N. Y. Claim of Congregation Chaare Zedek for interest accumulated on assessments paid and afterwards refunded.

A. 738, Young, Rep., 21 N. Y. Claim for $330 for expenses connected with 12th Muncipal District Court during 1903.

A. 212, Young, Rep., 21, N. Y. Claim of Valentine M. Collins, for services in Department of Education.

A. 98, LaFetra, Dem., 18 N. Y. Claim ol James C. Daly for services in Department of Docks.

A. 103, O'Neill, Rep., 1 Kings. Claim of Naragansett Machine Co. for goods furnished to Dept. of Parks in Bronx.

A. 254, LaFetra, Dem., 18 N. Y. Authorizing Eugene Scherri to commence action against city for injuries sustained by being run over by fire engine.

A. 257, Miller, Rep., 3 Queens. S. 199, Kennan, Dem. Claim of Robert E. Jones for repairing fire alarm system in Queens.

A. 211, Young, Rep., 21 N. Y. Claim of Manheim Brown for injuries sustained while acting as trial juror in General Sessions.

Recreation Piers and Parks.

The City now has complete power to establish recreation piers and parks wherever and whenever, in the opinion of the city authorities, the finances justify them. Nevertheless, the following bills have so far been introduced:

A. 43, Rock, M. O., 22 N. Y. Amending charter so as to provide for recreation pier at East 49th Street, Manhattan. (Mandatory.)

A. 224, Hackett, Dem., 13 N. Y. Directing Park Commissioner to select within 30 days a site for a park west of 10th Avenue, between 34th and 48th Street. (Mandatory.)

S. 391, Kehoe, Dem. Amending charter to establish recreation pier at Conover street, Brooklyn. (Mandatory.)

A. 179, Hackett, Dem., 13 N. Y. Amending charter to establish recreation pier at West 38th Street. (Mandatory.)

A. 843, Campbell, Ind. Dem., 34 N. Y. Requiring that every 10th pier on North and East Rivers be set aside for recreation piers. (Mandatory.)

Taxes and Tax Board.

The last three bills below introduced by Tompkins, are recommended by the City and by the Commission appointed by the Mayor to study the problem of taxes in New York City.

A. 848, Bernstein, Dem., 31 N. Y. Amending charter so that two of the Board of Taxes and Assessments shall be lawyers and two shall be real estate dealers of 10 years standing.

A. 153, 591, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. Amending charter so as to allow tax board to add any name and property to the roll which may have been omitted.

A. 736, Wedenmeyer, Dem., Richmond. Providing that unpaid taxes in Richmond at time of consolidation may be discharged of record upon payment with interest at 2 per cent.

A. 143, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. Authorizing Board of Estimate to issue corporate stock to the amount of uncollectible taxes.

A. 151, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. Amending charter to authorize Board of Estimate to include in tax levy a sum equal to taxes uncollectible on preceding first of January.

A. 146, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. Amending charter by allowing tax board to remit or reduce erroneous or excessive taxes under certain provisions.

Payments and Refunds by the City.

A. 548, DeGroot, Rep., 2 Queens. Amending charter so that payments to volunteer firemen's associations shall be to those existing prior to January 1, 1906, instead of those existing on January 1, 1901, as at present provided.

A. 642, Francis, Rep., 23 N. Y. Authorizing pension to widow of Lawrence Murphy, fire department.

A. 442, DeGroot, Rep., Queens. S. 176, 302, Keenan, Dem. Providing for payment of $500 to executor of volunteer fireman who dies from injuries while on duty.

A. 161, Francis, Rep., 23 N. Y. Authorizing Board of Estimate to place upon the city the entire cost of the addition to Riverside Park.

A. S. 426, Page, Rep. Board of assessors to allow damages to lot No. 3, block 2349, Bronx, because of change of grade of East 138th Street and Exterior Street.

A. 718, Francis, Rep., 23 N. Y. Refund of assessments to German Lutheran Church of our Saviour.

A. Introd. 754, W. I. Lee, Rep., 18 Kings. Providing that 2/3 of cost of improving Prospect Avenue, Brooklyn, shall be charge on city.

A. 122, Kavanagh, Dem:, 14 Kings. City to refund taxes and water rents to Elizabeth McGowan.

A. 245, Bernstein, Dem., 31 N. Y. Annulling taxes on real estate of Congregation B Nai Peiser.

A. 277, O'Neill, Rep., 1 Kings, S. 229, Cullen, Dem. Exempting veteran firemen's associations from payment of water assessments.

A. 123, Kavanagh, Dem., 14 Kings. Board of Estimate to cancel assessments for opening of Freemen Street in Brooklyn.

Pension Bills.

For two years past there has been introduced a bill providing for pensions for civil service employees of the city. Both years the bill has been vetoed by the Mayor. The same comprehensive bill has not so far made its appearance. There have been introduced, however, separate bills, amending the charter, each providing for pensions in a different department of the city government. In none of them would the fund be sufficient, without recourse to the taxpayers. They are:

A. 710, Bohan, Dem., 15 N. Y. Providing for pension fund in the Street Cleaning Department.

S. 369, Hawkins, Dem. Providing for a pension fund for employees of the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity.

A. 446, Hartman, Rep., 16 N. Y. Providing pension fund for street cleaning employees to consist of fines, sales of condemned horses and unredeemed street encumbrances, 2 per cent. of monthly pay of employees and the deficiency is to be put in as a part of the departmental estimate. The Commissioner is to have power to retire employees and grant pensions.

Bills Affecting Civil Service Acts.

A. 569, Dowling, Rep., 17 Kings. Amending act by limiting the power of removal by including, with veterans, honorably dscharged members of the State National Guard and Naval Militia.

A. 313, Burns, Dem., 4 N. Y. Providing that civil service veterans employed for 15 years or more shall upon reaching 65 years of age be retired on half pay.

A. 273, O'Neill, Rep., 1 Kings. Providing that in all public offices and services preference shall be given to civil war veterans, honorably discharged members of the Army and Navy, veterans of the Spanish war and of the Chinese and Philippine insurrections.

S. 67, Barnes, Rep. Providing that no person can be transferred or assigned to any position subject to competitive examination when a veteran is upon an eligible list for a position.

S. 61, Gardner, Rep. A. 629, Murphy, Rep., 10 Kings. Amending civil service law so that criminal records before the 14th year of applicants cannot be considered.

A. 621, DeGroot, Rep., 1 Queens. Giving volunteer firemen preference next after veterans.

Ferries.

Bills dealing with ferries are:

A. 853, Harte, Ind. Dem., Queens. Regulating rates on Astoria ferry.

A. 777, Wedemeyer, Dem., Richmond. Amending charter as to ferry employees by including certain classes in preferred list.

S. 399, Keenan, Dem. Amending charter to provide for acquisition of 34th and 92d Street ferries. (Mandatory.)

A. 235, A. E. Smith, Dem., 2 N. Y. Reducing fares on 92d Street ferry.

A. 387, S. J. Palmer, Rep., 13 Kings. Reducing fares on 10th and 23d Street ferries.

A. 478, Krulewitch, Rep.; 32 N. Y. Compelling companies to provide toilet rooms on ferry boats.

A. 666, Eckman, M. O., 12 N. Y. Requiring Brooklyn ferry company to maintain night schedules between Manhattan and Brooklyn.

S. 62, Keenan, Dem. Reducing fares on 34th Street ferry.

Bills Legalizing Acts of Commissioners of Deeds of New York City.

A. 259, Murphy, Rep., 10 Kings. Acts of Francis Martin.

S. 243, McCarren, Dem. Acts of Theodore Witte.

S. 263, Cooper, Rep. Acts of Nelson B. Simon.

Educational Department.

Bills dealing with the educational department are:

A. 727, Reilly, Dem., 3 Kings. Requiring Board of Education to specify number of school buildings necessary to accommodate all pupils and directing Board of Estimate to furnish money immediately for such buildings.

A. 733, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. Amending charter by providing that attendence officers shall be appointed by Board of Education instead of by City Superintendent.

A. 417, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. Amending charter by striking out provision that Board of Superintendents is to nominate the district superintendents to be appointed by the Board of Education.

A. 419, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. Amending charter so that Board of Examiners shall be appointed by the Board of Education without recommendation from the City Superintendent as at present.

Miscellaneous Charter Amendments.

A. 421, Young, Rep., 21 N. Y. S. 202, Page, Rep. Amending charter by creating a Bureau of Municipal Accounts and Statistics.

A. 7, Young, Rep., 21 N. Y. S. 203, Page, Rep. Amending charter to allow city to condemn property around a public improvement so as to restrict character of surrounding buildings or relay the streets or resell.

S. 304, Elsberg, Rep. Amending charter so that where buildings extend beyond the building line the privilege to occupy the space shall continue and pass to successors in title.

A. 498, Young, Rep., 21 N. Y. S. ——, Cooper. Amending charter by creating Board of Railroad Commissioners of three members appointed for six years by Mayor to supervise railroads within city.

S. Introd. 424, Page, Rep. Amending charter so as to require publication of reports of departments and bureaus within specified periods and providing for their distribution.

A. 19, Prentice, Rep., 27 N. Y. Amending charter so that Street Cleaning Department may sprinkle, flush or wash streets.

A. 244, Bernstein, Dem., 31 N. Y. Amending charter to create new 15th Municipal Court District in Manhattan to be bounded by Transverse Road and East 96th Street, Lexington Avenue, Harlem River, and Seventh Avenue.

S. 217, Marks, Dem. Amending charter by providing that street cars must stop at streets on which are located fire houses and making a violation misdemeanor.

A. 565, Dowling, Rep., 17 Kings. S. 299, McCarren, Dem. Amending charter so that land owners who convey property to the city in advance of action of Commssioners of Estimate need not pay expenses of conveyance.

A. 625, W. I. Lee, Rep., 18 Kings. Amending charter so that majority of taxpayers in a school district may have use of school room upon payment of expenses and upon making provision for indemnity against damages.

A. 470, Grady, Dem., 7 Kings. Amending charter so that service of policemen in former town of New Utrecht shall count in determining right to police pension.

S. 109, Cooper, Rep. Amending charter as to Police Department by providing that appointments shall be made after competitive examination of doormen of first grade and providing for a classification of doormen into five grades.

A. 71, Stanley, Rep., 19 N. Y. Amending charter so that police clerks shall serve during good behavior instead of during term of four years.

A. 524, Agnew, Rep., 27 N. Y. S. 400, Fitzgerald, Dem. Amending charter so that patented pavements may be contracted for, after proposals have been invited, if Board of Estimate by three-fourths vote consents.

A. 340, Cohalan, Dem., 35 N. Y. Amending charter as to property that must be sold at auction, by not including buildings, fixtures and machinery.

A. 30, LaFetra, Dem., 18 N. Y. S. 330, Grady, Dem. Amending charter by creating a board of control of public utilities of five persons at $7,500, appointed by the Mayor to oversee, control and acquire public utilities.

A. 418, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. Amending charter by striking out present provisions that the Fire Commissioner can make assignments and promotions only on the recommendations of the chief.

A. 399, Agnew, Rep., 27 N. Y. Amending charter to authorize trustees of Bellevue and allied hospitals to contract for the use of the Bellevue Training School for Nurses.

A. 305, Wedemeyer, Dem., Richmond. Amending charter to give Aldermen power to authorize street railway companies to erect booths for transfer agents and switchmen.

A. 521, LeFetra, Dem., 18 N. Y. S. 279, Foley, Dem. Amending charter by cutting down to one-half a pier the amount of dock room to be reserved for canal boats.

A. 270, Grady, Dem., 7 Kings. Amending charter so that local improvements assessments may be paid in five annual installments.

A. 227, Harawitz, Dem., 8 N. Y. S. 250, Fitzgerald, Dem. Amending charter so that push cart peddlers may leave their carts and merchandise as bail, which are to be sold in case of default.

A. 22, Hackett, Dem., 13 N. Y. Amending charter by requiring dark colored unforms for street cleaning employees.

A. 138, Burns, Dem., 4 N. Y. Amending charter so that Borough President shall order repairs, alterations and supplies instead of head of department, as at present.

A. 735, Wedemeyer, Dem., Richmond. Amending charter so that local boards of improvement shall pass on advisability of establishing penal institutions and hospitals within the district.

S. Introd. 394, Gardner, Rep. Amending New York charter by requiring that city officials must be residents of five years' standing.

A. 711, Bohan, Dem., 15 N. Y. Amending charter by authorizing police magistrates and special sessions judges to remit fines imposed by them.

A. 328, Weber, Rep., 16 Kings. Amending charter by correcting typographical error.

Various Other Bills Affecting the City.

A. 226, Hackett, Dem., 13 N. Y. Forbidding police commissioner of a first-class city to make any traffic rules or regulations except at park and bridge entrances.

A. 295, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. S. 169, Saxe, Rep. Authorizing city to establish and maintain a convalescent and recreation seaside colony.

A. 136, Weber, Rep., 16 Kings. S. 164, Cooper, Rep. Amending Municipal Court act by abolishing rotation by judges.

A. 577, Young, Rep., 21 N.Y. Providing for appointment of commissioners, by Supreme Court, to fix amounts to be paid by the city to persons injured in business during the construction of the subway.

S. 286, Gardner, Rep. A. 34, Shanahan, Dem., 11 Kings. Authorizing Brooklyn Park Commissioner to set aside a porton of Prospect Park for botanic garden and aboretum, to be under charge of Brooklyn Institute.

S. Introd. 407, Stevens, Rep. Excepting Queens and Richmond and that part of Bronx east of Bronx River from provisions of act fixing price of electricity.

S. Introd. 408, Stevens, Rep. Amending the act as to price of electricity in the city of New York so that lamps now costing $90 will cost $94.

A. 553, Hackett, Dem., 13 N. Y. Authorizing erecting and maintenance of an additional public hospital in Manhattan between 20th and 70th Streets.

A. 296, Tompkins, Dem., 5 N. Y. Providing for licensing of dogs by Health Department.

S. 216, Saxe, Rep. A. 381, Cohalan, Dem., 35 N. Y. Validating conveyances by the city of lands acquired for aqueduct purposes.

S. 325, Martin, Dem. Amending act as to damages for drawbridge over Harlem by providing for deductions from awards of damages because of consequential damages already allowed.

A. 491, Thompson, Dem., 18 Kings. Requiring opening within 30 days of Nevins, President, Sackett and Douglass streets, near Gowanus Canal, Brooklyn.

S. 379, Kehoe, Dem. Providing for the opening of 40, 45, 46, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, 57, 58, and 59th streets, Brooklyn.

A. 197, A. E. Smith, Dem., 2 N. Y. Restricting height of advertising fences in New York City to eight feet if on the ground and to four feet if on a roof.

A. 783, LaFetra, Dem., 18 N. Y. Amending act as to damages for change of grade in 23d and 24th wards as to consideration of fair value of work necessary to place claimant's land in former condition.

A. 769, Dowling, Rep., 17 Kings. Abolishing Brooklyn training school for boys.

S. 422, Hasenflug, Dem. Requiring opening of Bogart Street, Brooklyn.

A. 62, W. I. Lee, Rep., 18 Kings. Authorizing Borough President of Brooklyn to change location of railroad tracks from side to center of Coney Island Avenue.

A. 37, Averill, Rep., 3 Monroe. S. 34, Armstrong, Rep. Amending act as to New York County Register's office by providing for a fee of ten cents for a receipt for a chattel mortgage.

A. 271, Grady, Dem., 7 Kings. To transfer Cropsey Avenue, Brooklyn to Park Department and changing its name to Bath Beach Parkway.

A. 302, Dowling, Rep., 17 Kings. Authorizing city to acqure land in Lincoln cemetery, Brooklyn, for highway or park purposes and to permit the cemetery to locate elsewhere.

A. 488, W. I. Lee, Rep., 18 Kings. Changing name of Prospect Park Presbyterian Church.

A. 552, Grady, Dem., 7 Kings. Directing that common lands fund of Gravesend be set aside for maintenance of Gravesend burial ground to the amount of $15,000, and the remainder to be expended for improving streets in 33d ward of Brooklyn.

A. 304, Wedemeyer, Dem., Richmond. Allowing Sunday barbering in Richmond.

S. 201, Cooper, Rep. Appropriating $50,000 from State Treasury for monument in Cypress Hills cemetery to soldiers of the War of 1812.

S. 134, Saxe, Rep. A. 236, Stanley, Rep., 19 N. Y. Directing Rapid Transit Commission to make contract with New York Central for removal of tracks on Eleventh Avenue to a subway with power in the city to condemn.

S. 368, Marks, Dem. Providing that official referee may select official stenographer of the Supreme Court to take testimony in proceedings before him and the parties thereto shall not be required to pay the stenographer.

A. 116, Foelker, Rep., 5 Kings. Forbidding construction or operation of tracks on a new street extending from Bedford Avenue to Broadway, Brooklyn, without consent of property owners.

A. 807, Harte, Ind. Dem., 1 Queens. Requiring placing of electric wires under ground in Queens.

A. 774, A. E. Smith, Dem., 2 N. Y. Regulating telephone tolls of over one million and a half.

S. 364, Cooper, Rep. Providing for establishment and maintenance of University of Brooklyn.

In connection with this tabulation of bills, it is said:

"The excuse is frequently heard that up-State legislators are responsible for the constant legislative interference with the city. A glance at these bills and the names of their introducers and of their political parties will show that all of the bills, except three or four of little importance, have been introduced by members from the city of all political parties. In other words, the city has its own representatives and no one else to thank for the annual tinkering with its charter and powers.

"Aside from the great number of these bills, another matter is of great importance, and that is the expense they would impose upon the city. The DeGroot volunteer firemen's payment bill, the Young bill for subway damages, the various pension bills, the bills requiring the construction of recreation piers, the bills increasing salaries and places and providing for back pay would of themselves, to name no others, impose at least $10,000,000 additional expense upon the city."

MARY H. LOINES,
Secretary.

ROSALIE LOEW WHITNEY,
Chairman.

Committee on Affiliation.

The Woman's Municipal League has accepted the action of the New York Association for Household Research as expressed in the following resolution, adopted January 31, 1906:

"Resolved, That the Association for Household Research become the Research Department of The Woman's Municipal League; that its board of directors now holding office be asked to become the Research Committee of The Woman's Municipal League; that it shall have its own secretary and treasurer and have full charge of raising and expending its own funds; that the president of The Woman's Municipal League shall be chairman ex-officio of this Research Committee.

"The advantages of this affiliation are: That the Committee can carry on its studies and publications and protective work with the backing of a large organization, and be relieved from the necessity of building up a separate organization, which already includes many members of the League.

"That in the matter of making practical use of the facts gathered, as for legislation or improvement of city conditions, it has been the practice to work through the departments of the League, and a closer affiliation would make this phase of activity more effective and prevent duplication of work."

The Woman's Municipal League has always endeavored to stand for co-operation and the non-duplication of machinery. Our endeavors in these directions have just received most substantial endorsement and support from the Association for Household Research, which has unanimously voted to cease as a separate society and become the Research Committee of The Woman's Municipal League. That this confidence in us may be justified lies with our membership. We should take a never flagging interest in the development of this most important aid to the conditions by which both employer and employee are related to the city government *all the year round.* It is impossible to say that spring, summer, autumn or winter brings more awful problems before the Commissioner of Licenses.

To have such a Bureau in the League makes us a part of the same work done in other cities. The women of the country have been slow to realize that the worst influences possess a species of union which eludes detection in one place by flying to its organization in another. Boston, Philadelphia and Washington are already a part of the Inter-Municipal Research Committee. Let us see to it that the share of work and of public opinion which New York should contribute is forthcoming.

M. L. Chanler,
Chairman.

The Consumers' League
of the City of New York.

Room 617, 105 East 22d Street.

Mrs. Frederick Nathan, *President*

Miss Helen Phelps Stokes, *1st Vice-President.* Miss Effie R. Waddington, *Recording Secretary.*
Mrs. Hugh Monroe Dewees, *2d Vice-President.* Mrs. Geo. K. B. Wade, *Corresponding Secretary.*
Miss Alice H. Day, *Treasurer.* Miss Pauline Goldmark, *Executive Secretary.*

In order to keep in close touch with the course of labor legislation at Albany the Consumers' League subscribes to the admirable Bureau of Legislative Information conducted by the City Club. On the recommendation of the Commissioner of Labor, Mr. P. Tecumseh Sherman, a number of important bills have been introduced into both houses of the Legislature, which are at present under consideration by their respective committees, and call for careful attention from the Consumers' League.

The amendments are intended to make the enforcement of the labor law more effective, rather than to introduce any essential changes. Senate Bill 193 and Assembly Bill 403 call for a much-needed enlargement of the Labor Department by giving the Commissioner authority to appoint sixty persons as deputy factory inspectors. There are at present thirty-seven deputies, of whom one is assigned to mines and quarries and two to office work. This leaves thirty-four inspectors for field work, whose duties (besides other important work) include the inspection and enforcement of the law in thirty-five thousand factories, including bakeries, and in approximately fifteen thousand tenements. Owing to this inadequacy of force, the Bureau of Factory Inspection has been obliged to neglect the enforcement of laws vitally important for the protection of men, women and children. New York, the largest industrial State, certainly needs this increase of inspecting force at once. It is most earnestly hoped that the bill will be reported favorably in the near future by Messrs. Maltby and Mooreland with an appropriation sufficient to cover the salaries of sixty inspectors. It is further desirable that an item of $6,000 be included in the Supply Bill to provide for the additional inspectors until the first of July of the current year, when the new appropriation will be available.

It is of interest to remember that under Governor Odell, in 1901, by cutting down the appropriation, the number of inspectors was arbitrarily reduced from fifty to thirty-seven as a measure of economy. At that time the Consumers' League vigorously opposed this ill-advised reduction of the Department, and having watched how disastrously the work has been crippled, it can the more emphatically endorse this attempt of the Commissioner to repair the loss to his Department. He says himself that "it is capable of mathematical demonstration that these thirty-four cannot possibly do the work laid out for them. Five years ago there were fifty, which number was then deliberately reduced while their work has since then been multiplied."

The Consumers' League would, indeed, favor a further change asking that "not *less* than sixty," rather than "not more than sixty" persons should be appointed as regular factory inspectors, and of these "not *less* than ten," rather than "not more than ten," should be women.

In order further to strengthen the Factory Inspection Bureau, Mr. Sherman proposes to do away with the present Free Employment Bureau maintained by the State, and to add its force and appropriation to factory inspection. The present appropriation of $5,000 is considered entirely inadequate to conduct a bureau

which might have an effect on the general labor situation of the State. At present, it is nothing more than an intelligence office for women domestic servants.

In the last admirable report of the Commissioner of Labor, covering the twelve months ending September 30, 1905, the subject of bakeries in Greater New York is fully discussed. The Commissioner says, in part: "Formerly there were three inspectors assigned exclusively to bakeries in the Boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn. But the reduction of the number of inspectors in 1901 and the multiplication of the work of the Bureau since then have forced the transfer of these inspectors to other and more general work. It would be advisable, if the number of inspectors were sufficiently increased, to re-establish this detail. But nothing short of an amendment of the law can cure the principal evils now existing. Not only is the authority of the Department doubtful to compel structural alteration in basement bakeries so used at the time of the enactment of the statute (1895), but by its terms it gives the Department no authority at all to enforce *cleanliness* in bakeries." For this reason, Assembly Bill 696 proposes radical changes in the old law. Bakeries are declared factories and will therefore be subject to the regular provisions of the labor law regarding sanitary conditions, ventilation, plumbing, and hours of labor, etc. In addition, the Commissioner seeks power to close any bakery found in an unclean, ill-drained, or ill-ventilated condition. The indescribably filthy condition of some of the tenement bakeries revealed by the strike of last summer certainly make such action imperative. The making of macaroni and spaghetti is included in the bakery law for the first time.

In Assembly Bill 754, Commissioner Sherman adds a new section to the law defining as tenant-factories buildings which different firms occupy as factories. Frequently these buildings are old and ill adapted to their use, and the sanitary conditions are bad. Under the present law it is difficult to get compliance from the different lessees, and the new bill therefore proposes that liability for the parts of the building used in common be imposed on the landlord, while the sanitary conditions are to be enforced in the separate factories by authorizing the Commissioner to stop work therein until the premises are in a clean and satisfactory condition.

Assembly Bill 698 offers an amendment to the tenement manufacture law which requires that wearing apparel, including some thirty-two specified articles, shall be manufactured only in licensed tenement houses. This amendment will make an exception for dressmakers, who may employ outside workers in their own apartments, if they deal solely in custom trade direct to the consumer and live in apartments of the highest sanitary grade.

These changes in the tenement manufacture law will greatly reduce the number of inspections needed. If the desired addition to the force is also obtained, it should be possible for the Commissioner to begin a systematic inspection of home manufacture, which will be a closer approximation to enforcement than he has yet shown. The enforcement of the hitherto neglected sixty-hour law for women also calls for closer attention, in order that we may see evidence of an effective interest, on the part of the Commissioner, regarding the hours of women and young girls, which his administration has so far accorded only to children.

The National Consumers' League will hold its Seventh Annual Meeting in Boston on Tuesday, March 6th. At the evening meeting in Steinert's Hall, 162 Boylston Street, Henry P. Walcott, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy will be the speakers.

In New York, the following meetings have been arranged: March 19th, at 5:15 P. M., when Mrs. Nathan will speak in the Sunday School room of St. Bartholomew's Church, 16 East 44th Street, and March 23d, at 12:45 P. M., when Mrs. Kelley will speak in the Church of the Holy Communion, 6th Avenue and 20th Street.

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

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The Memorial Meeting for Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell will take the place of the Regular Monthly meeting of the League on Thursday, April 12.

KATHERINE T. RHODES,
Assistant Secretary.

Patent Medicine Frauds

By MARK SULLIVAN.

Delivered before The Woman's Municipal League, March 8th, 1906.

The reason it is more difficult to secure reform of the patent medicine people than any other lies in the fact that here we cannot get what is the chief agency of reform in every other line, namely, the support of the newspapers. All the makers of patent medicines are joined together in an association known as the Proprietary Association of America. The members of this Association together spent about forty million dollars a year in advertising with the newspapers, and this money is sufficient to silence the newspapers as to the frauds practiced by the patent medicine people. It is stipulated in many of the contracts between the patent medicine people and the newspapers that the newspapers shall not print anything harmful to patent medicines. This was thoroughly and effectively exposed in *Collier's Weekly* for November 4th, 1905. It was shown, for example, that in the printed form of contract which is used by the J. C. Ayer Company in making its contracts with newspapers occurs this clause: "Second—It is agreed that the J. C. Ayer Company may cancel this contract pro rata . . . in case any matter otherwise detrimental to the J. C. Ayer Company's interests is permitted to appear in the reading columns or elsewhere in this newspaper." The printed form of contract used by the makers of Hood's Sarsaparilla and also by Dr. Munyon contain identically the same clause in the same language. In addition to this contract of silence, the patent medicine people impose on the newspapers a contract which compels the newspapers to work to defeat any law which would compel the patent medicine people to publish their formula. This scheme was invented by Mr. Cheney, the maker of Hall's Catarrh Cure, who is now president of the Proprietary Association of America. Mr. Cheney described his scheme to his fellow members of the Association in the following language, which is quoted from the minutes of the meeting of the Proprietary Association of America:

"We have had a good deal of difficulty in the last few years with the different legislatures of the different States. . . . I believe I have a plan whereby we will have no difficulty whatever with these people. I have used it in my business for two years, and I know it is a practical thing. . . . I, inside of the last two years, have made contracts with between fifteen and sixteen thousand newspapers, and never had but one man refuse to sign the contract, and by saying to him that I could not sign a contract without this clause in it he readily signed it. My point is merely to shift the responsibility. We to-day have the responsibility of the whole matter upon our shoulders. As you all know, there is hardly a year but we have had a lobbyist in the different State legislatures—one year in New York, one year in New Jersey, and so on." (Read that frank confession twice—note the bland matter-of-factness of it.) "There has been constant fear that something would come up, so I had this clause in my contract added. This is what I have in every contract I make: 'It is hereby agreed that should your State, or the United States Government, pass any law that would interfere with or restrict the sale of proprietary medicines, this contract shall become void.' . . . In the State of Illinois a few years ago they wanted to assess me three hundred dollars. I thought I had a better plan than this, so I wrote to about forty papers and merely said: 'Please look at your contract with me and take note that if this law passes you and I must stop doing business, and my contracts cease.' The next week every one of them had an article and Mr. Man had to go. . . . I read this to Dr. Pierce some days ago, and he was very much taken up with it. I have carried this through and know it is a success. I know the papers will accept it. Here is a thing that costs us nothing. We are guaranteed against the $75,000 loss for nothing. It throws the responsibility on the newspapers. . . . I have my contracts printed and I have this printed in red type, right square across the contract, so there can be absolutely no mistake, and the newspaper man cannot say to me, 'I did not see it.' He did see it and knows what he is doing. It seems to me it is a point worth every man's attention. . . . I think this is pretty near a sure thing." Whenever any bill attacking patent medicines comes up in any State Legislature, Mr. Cheney sends to all the newspapers in that State letters of which the following is a sample:

————, Mass.

Gentlemen:

Should House Bills Nos. 829, 30, 607, 724, or Senate Bill No. 185 become laws, it will force us to discontinue advertising in your State. Your prompt attention regarding this bill we believe would be of mutual benefit.

We would respectfully refer you to the contract which we have with you..

Respectfully,

CHENEY MEDICINE CO.

The other members of the Proprietary Association, in fact all the makers of patent medicines, sent letters and telegrams like the following, which was sent by the makers of Swamp Root:

Binghamton, N. Y., March 10, 1905.

The Spy, Taunton, Mass.:

House Bill 829, discriminating against proprietary medicines, passed Lower House. Up in Senate Monday. Quick work necessary. Use your influence.

WILLIS SHARPE KILMER.

By means of these tactics, up to the present time, all efforts to secure legislation adverse to patent medicines have been unsuccessful. If any newspaper fails to do what the patent medicine people desire, or prints anything which displeases the patent medicine people, then these patent medicine people with-

draw their advertising. The Cleveland *Press* printed some matter which the patent medicine people did not like, and as a result within forty-eight hours eighteen thousand dollars' worth of advertising was withdrawn from the *Press*. In one State this influence has failed to work, and there has been passed in North Dakota a law compelling the makers of those patent medicines which contain poisons to state that fact on their labels.

Report of Research Department of the Woman's Municipal League.

For some months past the Research Department of the Woman's Municipal League has felt that some amendments were necessary to the employment agency law, which it obtained from the Legislature in 1904. Conferences have been held with the East Side Employment Agents' Association, with the West Side Employment Agents' Association, with the Child Labor Committee, the Theatrical Agents' Protective Association, Central Federation Union, State Nurses' Association, Commissioner of Licenses and other organizations and individuals interested in the enforcement of the law. As a result of these conferences and the work which has been done by the Research Department during the past two years, the amendments to the employment agency law were embodied in a bill known as the Prentice Tully Bill, now before the Legislature.

The present law has been tried for two years, and under its workings, conditions have been improved at least 40 per cent., but it was found that there were many loop holes through which those who wished to evade the law could crawl. The evils which the present law does not adequately regulate and which the amended bill aims to regulate, include the following:

It has been found that the present law applies only to agencies and offices, and not to the business of procuring help or employment; in other words, if an agent conducts an irresponsible business upon the street or does not conduct a regular office, he does not come under the present law. In some instances where licenses have been revoked during the year, the same men have continued the employment business on the streets without a license.

As the result of further investigations it was found that there was no necessity for including the registries of Nurses' Alumnæ Associations and of registered hospitals under the regulations prescribed by the present law and they have been exempted.

It has also been found that the definition of the word fee is inadequate and does not touch some of the most specific evils. Some agents instead of taking a fee directly for employment furnished, charge a lump sum for the transportation and lodging of the employee, especially the immigrants whom they bring into this country. Exorbitant sums of money have been secured in this way and have not been clearly enough specified as a fee.

There are certain peculiarities in the methods of theatrical agencies, such as keeping the difference between the amount they receive and the amount they pay to actors for entertainments to which they send them. In this way exorbitant sums of money have been taken from actors, chorus girls and others who find employment through these agencies.

It is a common practice among agencies which furnish contract laborers not to ask for these fees directly, but to ask for commissary privileges from the employers. Eventually the fee is paid by the laborers, but these agents have refused to take out licenses on the ground that this was not a fee. Some of the

most serious evils of the employment agency business have been carried on under this cover.

Some employment agents have found it less expensive to run an office without a license, because of the small penalty attached for such offence, rather than to take out licenses and be subjected to restrictions of the law. Because of these conditions the penalty has been increased for doing business without a license.

Licenses have been transferred from one person to another without the required affidavits of good character having been filed and without a renewal of the bond. The amended law makes the same requirements of the person to whom the license is transferred that it makes of the person to whom it was originally granted. This is a greater protection to the public and gives the Commissioner the right to refuse the license to an undesirable transferee.

There has been considerable discussion and misunderstanding as to the meaning of living rooms. The amended law states specifically that a living room is a place where meals are served or where persons sleep.

The present law requires that the employment agent shall investigate references under all conditions. This has proved something of a hardship, because some employers insist upon looking up their own references and do not care to have the agent do this for them. The amended law exempts the employment agents from securing references provided the employer voluntarily waives in writing such an investigation.

The section of the law relating to fees is much improved. In addition to the limitation imposed under the present law, the employment agent may not charge more than 10 per cent. of the salary paid where the employment or engagement is of a temporary nature not to exceed one month. Under the present law he is entitled to charge the entire first week's wages even though the employe may work only one week. The time limit which the agent is given to determine the fact of the applicant's failure to obtain help or employment is reduced from five to three days, as many employees are sent out of the city and cannot wait such a long time to recover their fee.

The registration fee of fifty cents permitted under the present law has been abolished. Employers can collect their fees only when they notify the employment agent within thirty days of the failure of the agent to fulfil his contract.

One of the most significant amendments is that no employment agent may send out any applicant for employment without having obtained a bona-fide order, and if there is no vacancy at the place to which the employee is sent, then the employment agent has to refund not only the fee but all sums paid for transportation.

The protection of women, that is, prohibiting sending them to disorderly places, or misleading them in employment agencies, is much strengthened, and the matter of proof is made less difficult. The kind of person who shall be permitted to frequent employment agencies is extended so as to include gamblers and intoxicated persons.

An entire new provision is inserted prohibiting employment agents to place any children at work in violation of the compulsory education law and the Child Labor law.

A common practice of agents on the East Side of accosting passers-by and actually pulling girls in off the street by taking possession of their property, or otherwise, is prohibited.

The clause in the present law by which it was hoped to eliminate the furnishing of employment in saloons has been a failure. Several cases have been brought up, but not one such agent has been convicted. The provision relating to saloons

is made much stronger, and it is hoped that something may be accomplished as a result. It has also been difficult to secure convictions for fraudulent advertising and both of these defects have been carefully considered and amendments introduced which it is hoped will cover them.

There are some other amendments relating to the keeping of registers and the furnishing of receipts and posting of laws which will improve conditions which are technical rather than fundamental.

Perhaps the most significant amendments to the law are those which cover the conduct of the Commissioner of License who is charged with the enforcement of this law.

As a result of the experience of this Department of the Woman's Municipal League during the past two years, it has been found that further safeguards for the public and the employment agents are needed. This includes the following:

That the Commissioner of Licenses must render his decisions on the application for a license within thirty days, and not let it drag on as an uncertainty for several weeks or months; that he must post the names of the persons who apply for licenses and for transfer of licenses and shall receive any protests before these licenses are issued or transferred; that he may require satisfactory proof of good character and not merely the signed affidavits of two persons who have known the agent; that he and his inspectors shall have no other occupation or business, but give their entire time to the enforcement of this law; that such inspectors shall have badges which they must exhibit on demand of any person with whom they have official business; that he must give the employment agent directly in writing a notice of any complaint against him that such notice must contain a statement of facts consituting the complaint (this will prevent inspectors threatening or otherwise mistreating employment agents); he must hold hearings within at least one week after the complaint is made; no complaint may be adjourned longer than one week, and his decision must be rendered within eight days from the time the matter is finally submitted to him. He shall also post a calendar of all hearings at least one day before the date of such hearing. He is given the power to refuse to issue or to revoke a license, but such decision is subject to review on writ of certiorari; in other words, the Commissioner is not made the court of last resort, if he unjustly withholds or revokes a license. With the exception of the most serious evils, viz., those of conducting the employment agency business without a license, sending women to disorderly places, violation of the Child Labor law, etc., the penalties are made somewhat light. The power is also given the magistrate to impose these small fines. Under the present law all cases had to be held for special sessions and some of them, while important, seemed so trivial that it was difficult to get conviction, and the Commissioner had either to revoke the license or dismiss the case. The revocation of the license is a rather too severe penalty for some of the mere technical offenses. The provisions of this bill are based entirely upon public welfare and protection of both the unemployed and the reputable employment agents.

It was thought after all these conferences during which all the various interests had been taken into consideration, that this bill would have smooth sailing, but an unforeseen complication arose. One of the employment agency associations bitterly opposed any regulation of the fees which may be charged contract laborers, domestics, unprofessional nurses, etc., and another employment agency, one which has branches in most of the cities of the State wished to be exempted entirely. The latter named agency, through its counsel, while these consultations were still being carried on and the bill was being held for further agreement, took

most of the good provisions which had been worked out by these various organizations and embodied them in another bill and sent them to Albany and had them introduced one day before the Woman's Municipal League's bill was given to Mr. Prentice. The bills were so much alike that in order to insure the passage of the opposition bill, known as the Lee Bill, the transfer of the law was made to the Department of Labor, making it a State instead of a municipal regulation, and it was intimated that the Republican organization was back of this bill. Most of the provisions, including that of the abolition of all restrictions of fees, for which the employment agents had contended, were carefully embodied in the Lee Bill. The Woman's Municipal League felt that it could not endorse these provisions, because of the necessity of protecting the immigrants and negroes who are brought to our city, and such helpless workers as domestic and contract laborers.

The employment agents and other interested in the Lee Bill, not having the knowledge of the many phases of the employment agency situation in New York City, found themselves confronted by unexpected difficulties. Commissioner Sherman, in whose department the enforcement is vested by the Lee Bill, stated that this sudden change would be impossible without detriment to his other work, and that it would require an additional appropriation, which he was not sure of obtaining.

The Lee Bill as passed goes into effect May first, which means that the Department of Labor must have an appropriation, secure its civil service employes, and have its entire department organized within one month. The Lee Bill as first introduced, included many absurdities, showing that its framers had no knowledge of employment agency conditions in the State. For instance, it provided a patronage list of $75,000 in salaries alone, and cities of the second class, which average about seven agencies each, were given employees who would draw salaries amounting to $7,400, to say nothing of offices expenses, furnishings, etc. It also provided that the Deputy Commissioners of Labor were to be appointed by the Governor instead of by Commissioner Sherman, a serious handicap if Commissioner Sherman is to be held responsible for its enforcement. Upon Commissioner Sherman's refusal to accept this increased responsibility at so short a notice and with no appropriation, the bill was amended and the enforcement transferred to the Department of Agriculture. In neither instance had the head of the Department of Labor or the head of the Department of Agriculture been consulted in regard to the proposed transfer.

The present Commissioner of Agriculture does not look favorably upon this transfer because no provision has been made for an appropriation which must be at least $50,000, if the law is to be enforced as adequately as at the present time. Furthermore, the enforcement of this law does not properly fall here. There are 649 licensed agencies in the first and second class cities of the State, and 601 of these are in New York City. Of those in New York City nine are for farm hands alone and eight others supply farm hands, contract laborers and others. The other agencies are divided as follows: Theatrical, 64; Italian padrones, 41; Nurses' Registries, 18; Stenographers' Agencies, 17; Teachers' Agencies, 3; Waiters' Agencies, 15; Shipping Agencies, 27; Negro Employment Agencies, 29; General Domestic and Hotel Agencies, 89; Farm Hands (including immigrant laborers), 17; Domestic, 281.

What would the Department of Agriculture have to do with the engagements of some of our favored actresses and the placing of nurses and the adjustment of the fee of a waiter sent to the Waldorf, to say nothing of the housewives' troubles with servants?

There is every possibility that the Woman's Municipal League Bill will be reported out and passed, for its provisions have been made after careful deliberation, with singleness of purpose, with nothing to conceal and with only the public welfare at heart. The Lee Bill has already been withdrawn.

Mrs. Rosalie Loew Whitney, Chairman of the Legislative Committee, and Miss Helen Arthur, Director of the Research Department of the Woman's Municipal League, have conducted both hearings before the Labor and Industry Committee and the Cities Committee, to which the Lee and Prentice bills have been referred.

The passage of the Prentice Bill, Assembly 1290, and the Tully Bill, Senate 872, means that with the continued efforts of the Research Department the employment agency conditions will be improved at least 40 per cent. more, and New York will have one of the best employment agency laws in the country.

FRANCES A. KELLOR.

Kip's Bay Local Improvement District.

When the Woman's Municipal League undertook to improve the city, what more natural than to adapt the words and purpose of the Charter of the City of New York?

"Section 425. For the purposes of home rule and local improvements the territory of the City of New York is hereby divided into twenty-five districts of local improvements. . . . The 16th District shall consist of the territory comprised in the 14th Senatorial District of the State of New York, and shall be called 'Kip's Bay.' "

It includes the 18th, 20th and 22d Assembly Districts. It extends from Fourteenth Street to Fiftieth Street, from Lexington Avenue to the East River, and is flanked by the aristocratic Murray Hill and by Rose Hill.

"Kip's Bay!" The name is full of historic suggestions, and is called for Jacobus Kip, the Secretary of the Province of New Amsterdam. Of Huguenot ancestry, this family has been noted in every generation since 1635 for mental vigor and strong character.

A natural indentation of the shore between Thirty-third and Thirty-seventh Streets exists, and on the bank of this Bay, in 1635, Kip built his home of bricks brought from Holland, with his coat-of-arms carved in stone. This substantial old house, with its 150 acres, served once as headquarters for General Washington, and remained standing as one of our landmarks until 1851; it was torn down to give place for the intersection of Second Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street.

A little further to the north, between Forty-fourth and Forty-sixth Streets, lies Turtle Bay, where General Howe landed when he crossed from Long Island. It was considered a safe harbor for small vessels and was fortified during the Revolution and the War of 1812. In the eighteenth century this old Winthrop country seat became a great pleasure resort and was famous for dinners and dances.

The Beekman mansion, corner of Fifty-first Street and First Avenue, was built in 1763, and stood until 1874. It was the scene of the condemnation of Nathan Hale, and André passed the night there.

South of Kip's Bay village lay Bull's Head village, between Twenty-seventh and Twenty-third Streets and Second and Fourth Avenues. It was formerly the site of the old cattle market.

Further south, at the corner of Sixteenth Street and First Avenue, stood the fine old residence of Peter Stuyvesant, the fourth Governor of New Amster-

dam, while on the hills close by lived his two brothers. On this old Stuyvesant Farm of several hundred acres was laid out the Square which now bears the name. It contains about four acres, and now on the one side of it stands St. George's Church and the Friends' Meeting House, and on the opposite side the New York Infirmary for Women.

This is to-day one of the most sequestered corners of New York, and vividly brings to mind the aroma of a by-gone time.

It was at Kip's Bay that the British landed on September 15, 1776, when they came to capture New York. And easily might they have routed the disjointed American troops! Fortunately for the future of our country, Mrs. Murray's house stood in their way. This fine old Quaker lady with her hospitality and her restful parlors, and her peaceful calm, accomplished more for the independence of the United States on that day than could a regiment of soldiers have done. For so skilfully did she urge the British to rest and refresh themselves that when the hot afternoon was spent, our troops were united and well intrenched, out of reach.

From that day to this many old aristocratic families have lived on the shores of the East River. John Lawrence, Washington Irving, Wm. M. Evarts, and Peter Cooper resided in Kip's Bay District. Even up to the middle of the nineteenth century country houses of the Stokes and kindred families were to be found along this water front.

Gradually business, shipping, ferries, gas houses, lumber and coal yards, abattoirs and factories, usurped these lovely sites. The side streets filled up with a population of the workers in these industries. Old houses were divided and sub-divided into small tenements.

* "When the Jews began to press in upon the 10th Ward downtown, the American and Irish, with many Germans, largely interested in saloon, restaurant and clothing business, moved north, in the East Side streets, as far as Kip's Bay and Turtle Bay. The lowest elements (Irish) congregated in tenements near East River, the better class west of Third Avenue, and the middle thrifty class filled up Third Avenue, which became a thoroughfare. Thirty-fourth Street and Third Avenue was the center of a District which was of great importance in the building up of the middle part of the city in the shaping of political history of New York. Murray Hill represented many wealthy and influential families, but their wealth made little or no impression on their District. *Is it the same now?* Along Third Avenue and cross streets were many earnest, patriotic people, old-fashioned and of the common people, also naturalized people of foreign birth who frequently suffered from collisions with the large and hostile mass east of that in their political views and habits.

"In the agitation that preceded the war and particularly during the draft riots of 1863, the lines of division were sharply drawn. In this district of turmoil and excitement there was one spot of quiet and serenity, the church, which still stands at the corner of Thirty-fifth Street and Lexington Avenue (enchanting bit of architecture). Its rector, Dr. Duffy, a descendant of the Kip family, owned the ground on which the church stood.

"A large proportion of the District's population has always been in sympathy with rebellion and riot, but this church and its membership always stood for abolition of slavery and for the union, and were a tower of strength for the national cause. Its ministers preached abolition and the union at every service. There was never any uncertain sound from the Kip's Bay Church. When Fort Sumpter was fired upon, the ladies made the flag, and the men hoisted it upon the building, and there it flew continuously until the end of the war. The

* Selected from Moss' "Old Metropolis."

church was in the midst of the riotous demonstrations of 1863. A demand was made that the flag should be hauled down. Alarmed by the threat that the church and parsonage were to be burned, a timid trustee slipped into the building and lowered it. Another trustee missing the inspiring sight of the stars and stripes flying over the rock of patriotism, ran in and raised it again. The great old Daniel Curry, the fiery Wm. H. Boole, and the sainted Wm. McAllister occupied the pulpit. Father Clowry, of St. Gabriel's Church, did heroic service in restraining the violence of his countrymen during those eventful days."

After the war came the founding of Tammany, which originated in this District which earned the name of "Murderers' Ward," so lawless and irresponsible was the character of the neighborhood.

Into this District then, about fourteen years ago, the Friendly Aid Society penetrated. The peculiar character of the population, the continual conflict in that arena of Law pitted against License attracted the pioneer spirit of the Trustees of that Society and made it seem to them a foeman worthy. It chose its location midway between the two well-equipped and successfully active organizations, St. Bartholomew's Parish House and St. George's Church. A Settlement House, 248 East Thirty-fourth Street, was established, and in its train followed Young Men's Clubs with an aggregated membership of perhaps 2,500.

The Civic Club, 243 East Thirty-fourth Street, and the East Side Republican Club, 241 East Thirty-first Street, were direct products of the interest centered in the Friendly Aid Society. The Civic Junior Club, the Junior East Side Republican Club, the Armenian Men's Club—all are indebted to the same source.

A marked improvement came to the neighborhood. One saloon-keeper went out of business. Happily many remedial agencies have congregated to work in this District.

Of course the great work of St. Bartholomew's Parish House and of St. George's Church is too well known to warrant much description. Both these works seem to meet every emergency, and their results are more far-reaching than one pen could tell.

They cover the Northern and Southern extremities of Kip's Bay District in a most efficacious manner, and carefully minister to the needs of their immediate neighborhood, physical, mental and spiritual.

The following list of public works and remedial agencies is necessarily very incomplete and indulgence is asked for inaccuracies. The writer of this article would be glad to receive corrections of lists. It is planned soon to hold at Friendly Aid Settlement a Conference of all Societies in this District. Co-operation is earnestly requested. While all these agencies are within the District, there are also a vast number of important societies just outside the boundaries accumulated at Twentieth to Twenty-third Street and Fourth Avenue, including those in the Charities Building.

Public Schools 14, 19, 40, 50, 104, 129, 27, 49, 73, 116.
Vacation Schools, Public Schools 14, 19.
Night Schools, 533 East Sixteenth Street, 314 East Thirty-fifth Street.
School for Crippled Children, 553 East Sixteenth Street.
Truant School, 215 East Twenty-first Street.
Parochial School, St. Gabriel's, St. Stephen's.
School Play Grounds, Public School Nos. 14, 40, 49, College of the City of New York.
Free Lectures, Board of Education, Public Schools Nos. 14, 19, 40, St. Bartholomew's.
Industrial School.
Parks, Stuyvesant, St. Gabriel's, Ryan, East River and Seventeenth Street.
Recreation Piers, Foot of East Twenty-fourth Street.
Floating Baths, East Twenty-fourth Street, East Thirty-first Street, Milbank Memorial Baths, 325 East Thirty-eighth Street: Public Baths of Demilt Dispensary, Public Baths of Friendly Aid Society (discontinued).

Libraries, Thirty-fourth Street Branch N. Y. Public Library, Benjamin Townsend Library at Bellevue, St. Bartholomew's Library, Madison Square Library Church House, St. George's Library.

Trade Schools, St. George's Evening Schools.

Settlements, Phelps, St. Bartholomew's, St. George's, Friendly Aid Settlement, Brick Church Mission, Madison Square Church House, Church of Incarnation Church House, Cooper Settlement.

Improved Tenements, 223 Avenue C, corner Fourteenth Street; 326-30 East Thirty-fifth Street, Mr. Phipps—East Thirty-first Street (under construction).

Police Stations, 327 East Twenty-second Street, 160 East Thirty-fifth Street, 163 East Fifty-first Street.

City Vigilance League, People's Institute Club, Salvation Army Industrial Home for Women, Prison Association of New York, Aid for Jewish Prisoners, St. Bartholomew's Loan Bureau, Catholic Women's Benevolent Legion, People's Institute, People's University Extension, Prison Association, German Masonic Temple.

Relief for the Sick, Eclectic College Free Dispensary, Lying-in Hospital, Skin and Cancer Hospital, Post-Graduate Hospital, Polyclinic Hospital, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Women's Infirmary Hospital, Cornell Dispensary Hospital, Cornell University Medical College, Emergency Hospital, Bellevue Hospital, New York Ophthalmological Hospital, Columbus Hospital, Infirmary of New York College of Dentistry, Ruptured and Crippled Hospital, St. Andrew's Convalescent Home, Willard Parker Hospital, Demilt Dispensary.

Mary Fahnestock Training School of Nurses, Bellevue Training School for Nurses, Mills Training School for Nurses.

Carnegie Laboratory.

New York Diet Kitchen.

Nursing, Nurses' Settlement maintains a nurse at Friendly Aid Settlement, nurse at Church of Incarnation, nurse at St. Bartholomew's, nurse at St. George's, nurse at Madison Avenue Church House, Hebrew Lying-in Society.

Day Nurseries, Bethlehem, Little Mothers' Aid, Presentation, St. Anne's, Wayside.

Florence Home for Working Girls, Galilee Coffee House, Olive Tree Inn, Golden Hour Home, St. Elizabeth's Industrial School, Boys' Lodging House, Children's Aid Society.

United Hebrew Charities, Little Mothers' Aid Association.

Relief for Foreigners, St. Bartholomew's Chinese Guild, St. Andrew's, St. David's.

Relief, Cavalry Parish Wood Yard, Friends' Employment Society, St. Bartholomew's Tailor Shop for Women, Salvation Army Laundry, Society for Employment and Relief of Poor Women, Hebrew Benevolent Fuel Society, Society of St. Vincent de Paul, Carmelite Conference, St. Gabriel's Conference, St. Stephen's Conference.

The statistics of the District are taken from the Quarterly of the Federation of Churches, compiled from the Federal Census, the Tenement House Committee's Report, and other sources.

Tenement families	24,892	Ireland	10,361
American families	2,139	Italy	1,417
Hungary	521	Poland	143
Bohemia	158	Russia	412
France	286	Scandinavia	553
Germany	6,986	Others	902
England and Wales	835		

Acreage in Kip's Bay, 640; *persons per acre, 214.33; foreign, 39 per cent.; total population, 136,589; total families, 30,097; total dwellings, 6,121; owned dwellings, 1,143; families to dwelling, 4.96; persons per dwelling, 22.43; total churches, 26; persons per church building, 6,504.33; Roman Catholic church buildings, 10; Jewish synagogues, 2; hotel licenses, 424; saloons, 339; hotels, 85; persons per license, 328.66.

Rents here are continually going up, and have started with a big bound since the planning of the Long Island Tunnel.

Jewish speculators are coming in, new tenements are being put up on almost every side street.

* The density has increased 13 to the acre in the five years 1900-1905.

Accommodations for an additional population of 9,600 people are in process of erection. One thousand of these are to be housed by Mr. Henry Phipps in his new model tenements in East Thirty-first Street; 1,600 in East Twenty-eighth Street Men say it is building up here faster than in any other section of the city except the Bronx.

The population of the 20th Assembly District, one-third of Kip's Bay District, alone is 36,000. Of this number about 50 per cent. are Irish; 20 per cent. German; 10 per cent. Italian; 10 per cent. Armenian; 5 per cent. Swedish; 5 per cent. Hebrew. There is a talk of reapportionment of Districts. If this were done the 20th would gain 21,000 more inhabitants.

There are probably 150 saloons in the 20th District alone.

There are 339 saloons in Kip's Bay District.

There are on Third Avenue saloons on three corners of almost every crossing, sometimes there are four. There are over 118 on Third Avenue between Thirty-fourth Street and Eighty-second Street. It is safe to conclude that many of these are breaking the law. On First Avenue, in some places there are five on one block on one side of the avenue. But worse than the legitimate saloons are what are called Dead Houses, where whiskey (?) can be bought for 10 cents a quart bottle. Raines' Law Hotels abound. There is a saloon to every 328.66 inhabitants, a church to every 6,504.13 inhabitants.

The local improvements in the last few years have been as follows:

1. ST. GABRIEL'S PARK, THIRTY-FIFTH STREET.
2. BRANCH OF N. Y. PUBLIC LIBRARY IN THIRTY-FOURTH STREET.
3. RECREATION PIER, TWENTY-FOURTH STREET.
4. TREES PLANTED.

The things most urgently needed are:

1. BUILDING OF MODEL TENEMENTS.
2. DEMOLITION OF THE OLD UNSANITARY TENEMENTS.
3. PARK, THIRTY-FIFTH TO THIRTY-SIXTH STREETS, FIRST AVENUE TO RIVER.
4. NEW RECREATION PIER, THIRTY-SIXTH STREET.
5. FLOATING BATHS, THIRTY-SIXTH STREET AND EAST RIVER.
6. SAVINGS BANK.
7. NEW POLICE STATION HOUSES.
8. BETTER PAVEMENTS IN SECOND AND THIRD AVENUES AND CROSS STREETS.
9. TREES PLANTED.
10. ST. GABRIEL'S PARK FINISHED.
11. ST. GABRIEL'S PARK OPEN AIR GYMNASIUM EQUIPPED.
12. SCHOOL GARDENS.
13. SALOONS REGULATED ACCORDING TO LAW.

At this status, the Woman's Municipal League takes hold to unify the work of Local Improvement.

The District has been organized with Mrs. J. Noble Hayes as Chairman, and Mrs. S. M. Barrows as Secretary.

The first meeting was held at the Friends' Meeting House on January 16, 1906. Meetings have been held nearly every week since. A Committee has waited upon the Park Commissioner to ask that St. Gabriel's Park be immediately finished and fitted for public enjoyment by the placing of benches, the setting out of trees, and shrubs, and grass. It was also petitioned that the building about to be erected in the Park for baths and indoor gymnasium be dispensed with. This was done, as there are public baths within four blocks (alas! too insufficiently used). It was thought inadvisable to use the all-important Park space for any building. Furthermore, it was also petitioned that the sum of money to have been used for that building be directed towards the acquisition of an additional half-block for the Park, thereby carrying it to the water front. Between First Avenue and the East River, Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Streets,

stands a big lumber yard. It is about 350 feet by 200 feet, and is owned mostly by one firm. The principal work of the Park Committee is to try and secure that little piece of land so as to bring the present Park down to the water's edge.

About on this site in the old days stood an old mansion. An hourly stage on Third Avenue was the connection with the city. There Horace Greeley lived and Margaret Fuller visited there. Her letters to her brother convince one why we should want a Park on the water front. "My room is delightful. How I wish you could sit at the window with me and see the sails glide by." And so we would have the poor women of that District sit there quietly under the trees and "see the sails glide by."

The Park should be surrounded with asphalt on all the street adjoining, thereby practically increasing the Park space. Ice-water fountains at either end should be provided. Shade and benches should be abundant. It has been estimated that if every dweller in Kip's Bay District should decide to go into the Parks of the District at the self-same instant there would be 15,000 people standing on every acre in those small parks. If the Murray Hill District people should simultaneously adjourn to their Parks, there would be but 268 people standing on every acre.

The next work of the Committee was to wait upon the Mayor to interest him in improving the condition of the Police Station Houses. Many station houses were inspected and a full report of the horrors found there was sent to the Mayor, Police Commissioner, Commissioner of Health, and Borough President. This report was printed in the *New York Post* and *Times*, and *The Chief* wrote asking for it for publication.

Other committees have begun work, but it is yet too early to do more than report progress.

Students of City Betterment, at home and abroad, have now about agreed that the old-fashioned Village Improvement Society most nearly meets the needs of centralized population. Although naturally difficult to adapt to 150,000 people a plan well suited to 500 people, still it can be done. The underlying principle is the same, and remains big enough to meet our human needs. The needs are still the same. As yet no better plan has been devised.

And so if we can succeed in getting each one of our one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants in Kip's Bay Local Improvement District to *love his village*, to feel personally interested in its welfare, and personally responsible for it, the result can but be THE WHITE CITY towards which we ever look with longing eyes.

EDITH KENDALL.

The Consumers' League
of the City of New York.

Room 617, 105 East 22d Street.

Mrs. Frederick Nathan, *President*
Miss Helen Phelps Stokes, *1st Vice-President.* Miss Effie R. Waddington, *Recording Secretary.*
Mrs. Hugh Monroe Dewees, *2d Vice-President.* Mrs. Geo. K. B. Wade, *Corresponding Secretary.*
Miss Alice H. Day, *Treasurer.* Miss Pauline Goldmark, *Executive Secretary.*

The annual meeting of the National Consumers' League, which was held in Boston on the 6th of March, was attended by eight delegates of the New York City League. The national character of the work was emphasized by the endorsement of five bills, now pending in Congress, of highest importance to the welfare of working women and children in every State of the Union.

Two of the bills refer only to the District of Columbia—one for compulsory education, and the other regulating child labor. These are important measures, because they are intended to set a standard for the rest of the country. The National Capital, instead of showing a complete neglect of legislation for children, would by the passage of these two bills take its proper position among the advanced States that protect their young workers.

In this connection great interest attaches to the Bill for the establishment of a Children's Bureau by the National Government. "Congress," says the Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, "should go a great deal further than merely passing legislation for the District of Columbia. There is a great lack of adequate information upon which State action can be based. There should be a Children's Bureau in one of the departments of the Federal Government dealing exclusively with the problems of childhood.

"Such a body of experts working under the direction of the best trained specialist in the country could bring together the statistical results of the Census, without duplicating any statistical inquiry now carried on, and could formulate schedules and questions for further statistical inquiry. Through the agency of traveling experts the Bureau would report upon the exceptional conditions with respect to high or low birth rate, high or low infant mortality, the conditions of excessive juvenile crime, the most successful methods of dealing with problems presented in children's courts, the reasons for child labor in particular industries, the operation of successful child labor laws, the methods of meeting the problem of juvenile dependency, and many allied subjects. Systematic and co-ordinated inquiry, investigation and report, in the form of bulletins available as a basis for legislative and administrative action by State and municipal officials and by the agents of private societies, would immeasurably increase the effectiveness of the work now being done in education, philanthropy and preventive social work.

"The Children's Bureau would remove from the Federal Government of the United States the stigma of being the only centralized government of a highly civilized people that has done almost nothing to encourage the protection of the rights of childhood, and the promotion of a healthy, normal, intelligent and vigorous race of people."

Of equal importance are the provisions of the bill to investigate the conditions of working women and children throughout the country. The last census shows that the body of working women and children has grown at a much faster rate than the number of working men. It is felt that a national investigation of what is now a national problem should be undertaken. With five million working women, and probably two million working children under the age of sixteen, the national proportions of the problem become evident. With the exception of a few sporadic instances, there has been no investigation of the conditions of labor for these millions. The hours of work, wages, sanitary environment, effect of employment on health and morals, and influence on home life and the birth-rate are all practically unknown. In an intelligent knowledge of such facts, the United States are far behind the enlightened countries of Europe.

Illinois is beginning such an inquiry of the largest employers of labor in the State, viz., the stock-yards. The State Bureau of Labor Statistics has appointed three investigators of the Illinois Consumers' League among its agents. They report that the first establishment visited, which is one of the smaller in the stock-yards, carries on its payroll 6,000 women employes, thus indicating the surprisingly large share that women perform in an industry which has generally been supposed to be carried on by men.

Another important measure is the so-called Pure Food Bill which passed the Senate on February 21st by a vote of 163 to 4. It is generally acknowledged that its passage was materially assisted by the women of the country, especially as voiced by the Consumer's League and the National Federation of Women's Clubs. This marks the first success of the principle for which the enemies of adulteration have been fighting during the last fifteen years. The bill has still to pass the House, where opposition may be expected.

The National Consumers' League asks the individual members of the sixty various local Leagues to interest themselves in these measures. They can actively promote the passage of all these national bills by writing at once to their Senators and Representatives urging favorable action. The bills are—

1. The regulation of child labor in the District of Columbia, known as Senate 50, and House of Representatives 4,462;
2. Compulsory education in the District of Columbia, known as House of Representatives 6,001 (it has passed the Senate);
3. A Children's Bureau, known as Senate 2,962;
4. An investigation of the labor of women and children throughout the United States, introduced in the House by Mr. Gardner of Massachusetts; and
5. The Hepburn Pure Food Bill, known as House of Representatives 4 527.

Mrs. Frederick Nathan will speak before the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia, at a meeting to be devoted to the welfare of working women, on the evening of April 7th, and to the Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs at Chester on April 6th.

SUPPLEMENT

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. MAY, 1906 No. 10

The regular Monthly Meeting of the League will be held on Thursday, May 10, at 11 a. m., at 19 East 26th Street.

DR. C. WARD CRAMPTON, Assistant Director of Physical Training in the Public Schools of New York, will speak on "Physical Training in the Public Schools—Voluntary and Mandatory."

KATHERINE T. RHODES,
Assistant Secretary.

New Headquarters of the League.

It must have been plain to the membership of the League that with one small office and no assembly room the development of the League was continuously curtailed in every direction. The attendance at the office has steadily increased, as has the membership and the committees, but we were obliged to ask for the hospitality of the City Club whenever we came together, and every committee meeting held in the office conflicted with the routine work of the secretary. The officers and directors, therefore, have felt justified in moving into new headquarters, 19 East 26th Street, this spring, where they hope the entire membership may find time to inspect the new capabilities which sufficient space should give us.

Since the Household Research voted to become part of our organization the separation of the offices by several blocks has been a disadvantage to all concerned and gives an additional reason for our moving from 31 Union Square.

There are several excellent offices suitable for women's societies or clubs which we hope the membership will visit and speak of. The location is central and, as there is a caretaker, the members can see the house from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m.

If the officers and directors have not been justified in this expansion it is because the membership of the League-at-large do not find time to contribute thereto.

M. L. CHANLER.
Address.

Committee on Legislation.

The end of the present session of the Legislature is sufficiently near at hand to permit a summary of the work accomplished by it. The three central features of the session to date, of course, are the repeal of the mortgage tax law, the passage of the 80-cent gas bill, and of the Eleventh Avenue track-removing bill. There have been comparatively few bills of general philanthropic and educational interest. Of those bills that have become laws, the following are of interest to residents of New York City:

Chap. 36—By Assemblyman Wade, to amend the Penal Code, in relation to indeterminate sentences to the State prisons.

Chap. 109.—By Assemblyman Stanley, to terminate the use of streets, avenues and public places in the City of New York, in the Borough of Manhattan, by railroads operated by steam locomotive power at grade. (11th Avenue bill.)

Chap. 124.—By Special Committee on Insurance, providing for the election of directors in mutual life insurance corporations.

Chap. 125.—By Assemblyman Agnew, in relation to illuminating gas in the City of New York and regulating the quality and pressure thereof and the price to consumers other than said city and providing a penalty for violation.

Chap. 128.—By Assemblyman Cox, to amend Chap. 538 of the Laws of 1904, entitled "An Act in relation to the registration and identification of motor vehicles and the use of the public highways by such vehicles," providing for the release from custody and furnishing by persons charged with violation of the motor-vehicle law.

Chap. 148.—By Senator Saxe, to amend the Tenement House Act in relation to the Studio buildings.

Chap. 152—By Assemblyman Dowling, to amend the Greater New York Charter, relative to cessions of streets.

Chap. 153.—By Assemblyman Agnew, to amend the Greater New York Charter, so as to enable the City of New York, to obtain the services of a training school for nurses of the sick in connection with Bellevue and other hospitals.

Chap. 178.—By Assemblyman Prentice, to amend the Labor Law relative to factories.

Chap. 183.—By Assemblyman Prentice, to amend "An act in relation to the traffic in liquors and for the taxation and regulation of the same, and to provide for local option, constituting chapter 29 of the General Laws."

Chap. 228.—By Special Insurance Committee, to amend the General Corporation Law relative to the acquisition of real property by life insurance corporations.

Chap. 231.—By Special Insurance Committee, to amend the Penal Code relating to rebates and allowances by life insurance corporations.

Chap. 238.—By Special Insurance Committee, to amend the Stock Corporation Law relative to the qualification of directors.

Chap. 239.—By Special Insurance Committee, to amend the General Corporation Law relative to political contributions by corporations.

Chap. 275.—By Assemblyman Prentice, to amend the Labor Law relative to the labeling of goods unlawfully manufactured.

Chap. 286.—By the Special Insurance Committee, to amend the Penal Code in relation to the misconduct of officers and employees of corporations.

Chap. 296.—By Senator Raines, to amend the Insanity Law relative to the examination of immigrants at the port of New York, and the alien and non-resident insane in the State of New York to ascertain their mental condition.

Of the bills which are still pending and which are of special interest to the members of the League, are the bill for the seashore colony which has passed both houses, and is now before the Mayor; the bill for the regulation of proprietary medicines, which is still in Committee; the bill for a change in the law regarding the commissioners of street openings, and of course the Probation bills, which are still in Committee. Great efforts are being made to get the probation bills through, but as there remains at most about a week and a half, there is no assurance that this will be accomplished. The bill for the removal of the Kings County Alms House has passed in the Assembly, and at last reports had been ordered to third reading in the Senate.

Thus it will be seen, as was stated in the beginning, that this has not been an active session in such matters as are of interest to the Woman's Municipal League.

Of course, the principal interest of this Committee has been the Employment Agency Bill, introduced by the Household Research Department of our League.

In the April Bulletin, Miss Kellor reported at length on the reasons for introducing amendments to the law, and also the difficulties experienced by reason of the fact that one of the agencies caused another bill to be introduced in order to have itself exempted from all supervision. This Committee is glad to be able to report that the Woman's Municipal League Bill has passed both houses, and is now before the Governor, and his signature to the same is daily expected.

The Committee has had copies of all bills introduced, and has had the same carefully examined. Meetings of the Committee have not been frequent, owing to the comparatively small number of bills which are within the scope of the Committee's interest. The Chairman of the Committee earnestly recommends that in future a regular appropriation for the work of the Committee be made by the Central Committee at the beginning of its work. This is unquestionably a much more businesslike arrangement than to leave it to the Committee to provide its own funds as is now done.

ROSALIE LOEW WHITNEY.

April 25, 1906.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Reports and pamphlets relating to the work of the Consumers' League will be sent on request to members and others who may be interested in distributing them during the summer months.

The Paris White List and the new Swiss List of recommended Chocolate Manufacturers can also be obtained by writing to the Consumers' League office, Room 617, 105 East 22d Street.

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. MAY, 1906 No. 10

Proceedings of the Meeting Held in Memory of Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, Founder of The Woman's Municipal League, April 12, 1906

Miss Chanler, president of the *Woman's Municipal League*, presided, and made the opening address:

"We all know how difficult it is to find any point from which we can really see the most complete and permanent work of art. The more beautifully a building is placed, the more imposing is that portion of it we can see from any one spot, the more do we long to be simultaneously on the other side. No shrine, no genius of lighting can give us at one moment the whole of a statue. How much more difficult is it to fix for each other and for those who come after the grandeur and distinguishing endowment of a human life! It is only by analyzing the power we confront and then searching for its elements in surrounding conditions that we can even partially define our admiration.

Mrs. Lowell believed that every one helped or hindered the progress of righteousness by his or her beliefs or indifference. To find channels through which these beliefs could be practically expressed is a debt which our generation and all who follow us owe to hers. There have always been occasional women to whom the public looked for philanthropic assistance, and have always been multitudes who minister to distress when it invaded the lives of those near them. But to make the way plain in which we can all be of use, and where those who do not wish to help can be made to feel that they are an incumbrance and not an ornament, is a change which only a student of human development can fully grasp. It is fair to say that non-sectarian organized work for women arose in New York from the spirits trained in the Sanitary Commission which turned from the acute and uniform sympathies of war time to the more difficult and equally destructive evils of civilized communities. During the last forty years the names and characters, the undertakings and achievements of the women who have built up the impulse, the machinery and the expectations which make

our work so easy, have become public characters and by their presence in public life have lessened the power of evil men, and have made it easier for the high-minded to serve their State.

Let us look at Mrs. Lowell's influence over the individual woman whom she helped to find work; over the men with whom she labored and upon the machinery so necessary to efficient activity. I have said that Mrs. Lowell believed that every one helped or hindered the progress of righteousness by his or her belief or indifference. It was, therefore, immaterial to her whether or not you thought yourself too busy to work upon committees, or unfitted for the same. Your cleverness, your previous education did not seem to her of any importance. It was your duty to believe in the right and to oppose the wrong, and your very danger of believing the wrong showed how important it is that you should believe in the right. The multifariousness of Mrs. Lowell's published opinions does not mean that she dissipated her forces, but that it was as inevitable for her to see a good or a bad tendency in public matters as it is for the average woman to hold an opinion about a new acquaintance. She required her mind to support the endeavors of all who gave their time to good works. She believed in committees because work which is divided among a number of people never really stops, and because association produces that sixth sense known to those of us who profit by it, as "committee sense," and which a solitary worker never can understand, any more than a tyrant can understand solidarity. But all the modern methods at her command did not lessen the necessity for self-sacrifice—the giving of something which leaves us poorer—to that which we would help. Whether or not Mrs. Lowell would have preferred to spend more of her time less actively devoted to hard and often unsuccessful endeavor, we shall never know. She met each question as it came, and when now the strength which she had to give is exhausted, no one can say the total was not greater than the same amount of consecration would have come to if shown at intervals through a longer period of years. That she must have lived longer if her days had been more evenly divided between rest and concentration, it is fair to assume. But no one who watched her with individual cases could fail to be influenced by the self-sacrifice with which she met them. The characteristic which impressed me most forcibly was her patience—the almost negative condition in which she put herself while hearing the long and often unnecessary story of some poor derelict or bewildered victim of bad conditions. She said to me once: "They don't know how easy it would be for me to understand without their telling me. Unless I let them talk, I really have not done much for them." This is surely self-sacrifice, a consecration which is too often defined as waste—and it remains a mystery.

While it is not my intention to refer to Mrs. Lowell's private life, in considering the men with whom she labored, I am met at the outset by the fact that her father, her husband, and her brother-in-law, George William Curtis, were all present in the power which she wielded. Inheritance, belief in her powers, and the chivalrous devotion with which Mr. Curtis labored by her side, are all clear to those who worked with her. She was the first to acknowledge the liberation which the sympathy of those dearest to her brought to her own ability, and, as I have said that she urged public opinion and work among women, she urged a third thing upon the men whom she influenced, and that was that they should believe in and encourage important activities for the women of their families. The splendid gathering held in the United Charities Building in November, brought together a body of testimony which has set an incredible standard. But who can say how many men, in no wise represented at that meeting, after hearing Mrs. Lowell plead the cause of women prisoners, establishment of work houses, abolition of police lodgings in New York, the establishment of municipal lodging houses for men, the placing of matrons in police stations, the East Side Relief Work

Committee, in State Legislature, or in county, or charitable societies, went back to their families understanding for the first time that an ability as wide as her charity is an added grace to the loveliness with which they would endow their daughters. Now, those of us who have occasion to urge individual action upon men who create the ruthless level of party, find surprise and lack of interest the exception and not the rule. How much of this is owing to Mrs. Lowell and those of her friends who are still with us we cannot say, but let us at least acknowledge the safety and facility which their labors have guaranteed us. To have established on the mind of the average politician a definite expectation that a really good reform will be demanded by really disinterested women, is to have left her own principles in the enemy's mind.

The detail of our government is still so confused and experimental that it is not easy to briefly describe the ameliorations which have been largely brought about by building up such charitable associations as the Charity Organization Society, State Charities Aid Association, and many others. To demonstrate by private activity that government requires a committee, department or bureau is familiar to all of us, but it has not been so long, nor would it ever have been so if wisdom and nobility had not gone hand in hand in presenting the object lesson. Mrs. Lowell's influence was not limited to this city, or this State, and where other cities and other States have modeled their improvements, whether in philanthropy or government, upon New York, it is largely owing to her.

The partial list of Mrs. Lowell's writings in the Memorial Number of *Charities and the Commons*, December 2, 1905, gives us some estimate of the audience waiting for her written words—her standards on the various subjects which these words concern. They are all questions which have to be readjusted to modern conditions, and mercifully to the modern interpretation of justice, wherever municipal or State authorities are in control. The pamphlets run from 1878 to 1899, which is over twenty years. They begin with the New York Juvenile Guardian Society, and then come communications to the Mayor and Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which must have been enlightening to the city officials of that day.

"Better System of Charities and Corrections," "Police Matrons," "Reports on Workhouse," "Outdoor Relief," "Institutions for Deaf and Dumb," "Institutions for the Care of Destitute Children," "Report on Randall's Island Schools for Defective Children," "Conditions and Needs of the Insane of New York City," "Idiots," "Five Months' Work for the Unemployed in New York City." This great array of facts and deductions all passed through the crucible of Mrs. Lowell's judgment; the names of men and women to whom she often deferred and by whom so much of the work was done, are associated with hers, but in reading these publications it is easy to see the continuous enthusiasm of one mind. Besides these practical reports there are two other classes in this list of Mrs. Lowell's writings: Those which point to organization, as that of the "Report on Organization and Work of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York," "Public Relief and Private Charity," "Adaptability of Charity Organizations to Small Communities," and the Civil Service Reform; and Mrs. Lowell's contributions to theory, which we find in "Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation," "Labor Organizations as Affected by Law," "The Darkest England Social Scheme," "Industrial Peace," and the "Coal Strike of 1894."

I suppose we all regret the necessity for many of the reports to which we contribute or which we receive. Have we any idea what light may come to a group of perplexed people when they suddenly turn from discussion to read a report from a master hand? If there are those on any committee who can make its reports interesting, the work is indeed fortunate. The departments of Sociology which are just developing in our schools and colleges must depend upon the best

data in order to make their classes practical. For such instruction I doubt whether any at our command surpasses Mrs. Lowell's.

Mrs. Lowell's first plea for a State Reformatory for Women was in 1879. The reformatory was founded in 1901. And here I wish to say that up to within a few months before her death Mrs. Lowell visited Bedford with an ever-growing sense of its importance, and here again I invoke self-sacrifice. She did not make a hurried inspection relying upon her own insight, but she slept at the Reformatory. This guaranteed her friendship for the personnel engaged as superintendent, matrons and teachers. If those so employed have only an offical regard for the governors from whose hands they receive good conditions or bad, their work is more perfunctory, and one great function for the volunteer philanthropist is neglected, namely, that of mitigating by sympathy the necessarily segregated lives of the increasing body of women who make possible the modern institution.

And so I must end as I began, by looking from Mrs. Lowell to the dependent for whom she so faithfully labored, and then to the lives of leisure in which she found the help the dependent needed, waiting to be awakened to a sense of responsibility.

We cannot separate her from the puritan civilization which gave her to us, nor from the Christian religion which made that civilization possible. It is likely that any great faith contains teachings which embody such a life, but we need look no further than "He went about doing good."

Mrs. Lowell's Early Life, and Her Connection with the State Charities Aid ~~Connection~~ Association.

LOUISA LEE SCHUYLER.

"It gives me much pleasure, as an old friend of Mrs. Lowell—a friend from girlhood, although several years her senior—to join with you in this tribute of affectionate respect to her memory.

My first remembrance of Effie Shaw is in her father's house on Staten Island—where I had the privilege of being a frequent guest—a slight figure, with the typical Shaw coloring, of light hair, blue eyes and fair complexion. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Francis George Shaw, had left their Boston home to spend several years in Europe before returning to make their future home on Staten Island and, while abroad, had given their children, four daughters and one son, every educational advantage. They had studied in France, Germany and Italy, had seen the best pictures, heard the best music. Effie, more especially, had student tastes, was well read and exceptionally cultivated for so young a girl. She spoke French, German and Italian and, when I first knew her, was studying Latin and Greek, and reading philosophical books. I like to speak of her love of pictures, music and literature, for this side of her nature is not generally known. Of late years one would sometimes see her, with her mother, at a Philharmonic rehearsal, and, at long intervals, she would spend a summer in Europe with her daughter, Carlotta, her only child, but she rarely took time from her philanthropic work for recreation. Had she not chosen to give her life to the service of others, to the poor and friendless, she would doubtless have made her mark in literature, for that life of aspiration, earnestness and industry was destined to leave its impress on the world in some form. One thing she could never have been—and this too was open to her—a society woman, caring for fashionable society alone. Not that her social position, always recognized as of the best, did not help her in her work, for it did, but she looked upon it, and upon her other possessions, as of the things to be used for others—if she ever thought of them at all.

I love to dwell upon those early days on Staten Island and the home life there. They were all—all the family—deeply interested in public affairs; they held strong anti-slavery views, were uncompromising abolitionists. Mr. Shaw, born to wealth and leisure, was much interested in socialism, a man of deep feeling, of earnest life, of wide sympathies, simple and direct in intercourse—in these respects his daughter was like him. Her mother, Mrs. Shaw, was a woman of exceptional charm and force of character, beloved by many gifted friends, and inspiring through a long life the utmost devotion of every member of her family. Near them, on Staten Island, lived Mrs. Lowell's illustrious brother-in-law, George William Curtis, whose noble career was one of the strong interests of the family life. The whole atmosphere of the home was of the purest and highest, and this was the atmosphere in which our friend passed her youth.

The sequel is known to all; how, during the civil war—that long struggle for Union and Liberty—almost every man in the family, of the younger generation, was on the fighting line. Her only brother, Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, fell at the head of his negro regiment in South Carolina; a brother-in-law, General Francis C. Barlow, was severely wounded; and finally the news came—came to her by newspaper—that her husband, Charles Russell Lowell, had been killed while leading his brigade in the Valley of the Shenandoah.

At that time Mrs. Lowell was not yet twenty-one years of age.

Those who knew Mrs. Lowell well, knew that the experiences of those years of the war were the abiding influences in her life, not of despair or bitterness, but of sweetness and strength. One could not be with her—I never could—without feeling, through her silence, the ever-present background of the war; without a sense of reverence for that supreme sacrifice for country, so nobly accepted; without seeing the halo upon her brow.

I have been requested to speak to you of Mrs. Lowell's connection with the State Charities Aid Association, the first public charitable work in which she was engaged. I asked her to become a member of a Visiting Committee soon after the Association was founded, in 1872. And here, with your permission, I shall repeat what I have already said about this at another meeting of several months ago—when speaking of Mrs. Lowell's philanthropic work.

"It was as a member of the Richmond County Visiting Committee of the State Charities Aid Association, her duty being to visit the Poorhouse not far from her home on Staten Island, that she at once made her influence felt in behalf of those poor people. And there her wonderful power of sympathy showed itself, a sympathy in the lives of those people as individuals which comprised their past, their present, and their future. Mrs. Lowell at once asked what, in their lives, had brought those men and women there and, when they told her, she felt that she could help them better for this knowledge; could help others, too, often saving them from pauperism by a helpful hand extended at a critical moment. And this she did—then and throughout her life.

A few years later, in 1878, Mrs. Lowell, as a member of the Central body of the Association, made one of the first of those very able reports with which, in later years, we have all become familiar. It was upon Vagrancy and Outdoor Relief, and was read at a meeting of the Association at which Governor Tilden was present. He at once recognized its ability and determined, if possible, to secure the services of Mrs. Lowell for the State. He wished to appoint her a Commissioner of the State Board of Charities. At that time in this State no woman had ever been appointed a member of an official State Board, and the very proposition was a new departure. I remember how Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, then a member of the State Board of Charities, came to me from Governor Tilden to talk it over. (I am speaking of the father of our President, my con-

temporary and personal friend.) I had known Mrs. Lowell from her girlhood, he was not yet acquainted with her. Well, we talked it over, with the result that I was to ask Mrs. Lowell if she would accept and, should she consent, Mr. Roosevelt was to see the leading State Senators to ask if the nomination of a woman to such a position would be confirmed. I remember so well my interview with Mrs. Lowell; the arguments I turned over in my mind on the Staten Island ferryboat to induce her to look favorably upon the proposition, the sweet smile and friendly greeting of the young widow in her simple black dress. I stated the object of my visit, and was proceeding to argue why it was so important that she should consider it, when she said very quietly: "If the Governor and the Senate wish to appoint me, I will gladly serve." "Do you wish to think it over?" I asked. "No," she said, "I know what the work of the Board is. I shall try to do it." And this was the beginning of her very able service of over thirteen years as Commissioner of the New York State Board of Charities. I need not add that her nomination was confirmed unanimously by the Senate, nor that she and Mr. Roosevelt served together most efficiently on the Board, as colleagues and friends, until his death."

Others will speak to-day of Mrs. Lowell as the founder of the "New York Charity Organization Society," one of her greatest achievements, as the founder of the Society, under whose roof we are gathered, the "Woman's Municipal League"; of legislation initiated and secured by her; of work done for honest municipal administration and the reform of the civil service; of her many beneficent activities in behalf of the poor of the city; of her generous, open hand. And there is much, much more to be said of this exceptional life, given without count of cost, year in and year out, to further the interests of the poor, the oppressed, the suffering—consecrated to all who needed her sympathy and help.

But to us—to those who have loved Mrs. Lowell and do love her—it is not so much the thought of what she has done, but of what she was and is that rests in our hearts and minds. I shall not attempt to describe her influence. To each of us her life may speak a different word, but to many that word will be one of faith, and hope and courage, of battles bravely fought and won, of high endeavor and noble aspiration; and now of fuller life with those she loved in that other world—always real to her—and from which she never seemed far distant.

The Prison Association of New York.

Mrs. Isabel C. Barrows was asked to speak of Mrs. Lowell's work in behalf of prison reform. She said in substance:

Mrs. Lowell's work in behalf of prison reform was in reality the result of her efforts to prevent the girls and women in whom she was interested from becoming prisoners. In her philanthropic work she found how easy it was for the pauper class to drift into the criminal class, and how utterly useless were the short sentences imposed upon offenders against the law. With far-seeing wisdom she urged better provision for all short-time prisoners in jails, with complete separation of the sexes and with some sort of employment for all persons under sentence. She was one of the women most interested in securing the Reformatory for Women at Bedford and she served for years on the board of directors, constantly contributing from her own purse to meet the needs of that institution when the legislature failed to allow money to be used for various experiments in manual training. She was a tower of strength to the superintendent and a blessed inspiration to the inmates there and it was largely owing to her influence that the Reformatory was retained when in a spasm of false economy a former Governor of the State wished to turn it over into an asylum for the insane.

Mrs. Lowell wrote several papers relating to prison matters which show great familiarity with the best thought and the best experience of different countries in this branch of work. She not only read and quoted other authorities, but she wove their conclusions together with her own clear, strong thought and enriched the printed reports of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, the New York Conference of Charities and Correction, and the Prison Association of New York with the products of her pen.

Mrs. Barrows closed by reading the following extract from one of those papers, as embodying the ideal of Mrs. Lowell as to what is needed for the reformation of wayward women, an ideal that has not been superseded by anything better:

"To rescue these unfortunate beings and to save the industrious part of the community from the burden of their support, 'Reformatories' should be established, to which all women under thirty, when arrested for misdemeanors, or upon the birth of a second illegitimate child, should be committed for very long periods (not as a punishment, but for the same reason that the insane are sent to an asylum), and where they should be subject to a physical, moral and intellectual training as would re-create them. Such training would be no child's play, since the very character of the women must be changed, and every good and healthy influence would be rendered useless without the one element of *time*. It is education in every sense which they need, and education is a long process, tedious and wearing, requiring unfaltering hope and unfailing patience on the part of teacher and pupil. Consequently these Reformatories must not be prisons, which would crush out the life from those unfortunate enough to be cast into them; they must be *homes*—homes where a tender care shall surround the weak and fallen creatures who have fallen under their shelter, where a home-like feeling may be engendered, and where, if necessary, they may spend years. The unhappy beings we are speaking of need, first of all, to be taught to be women; they must be induced to love that which is good and pure, and to wish to resemble it; they must learn all household duties; they must learn to enjoy work; they must have a future to look forward to; and they must be *cured,* both body and soul, before they can be safely trusted to face the world again."

Miss Kate Bond, of the *Charity Organization Society*, spoke as follows:

"We meet to-day as fellow comrades who have lost our leader. And we are indeed bereft.

Together we treasure in memory the life of our friend, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, and we rejoice to behold its abundant fruitage. But the strength-giving personality is absent from us and our hearts fail us for fear when we confront the human needs which she day after day went bravely forth to meet and to relieve.

But while our sorrow is too intense to be clothed in language, and we are lonely in our work without our friend, we are not to-day assembled to mourn and to shed tears of grief and bereavement, for we believe that this most unselfish of laborers is not dead, but that she triumphs in victory.

And it seems to me that Mrs. Lowell, though absent from our sight to-day, yet speaks to us words of inspiration. And in triumphant tones she appeals to every individual who believed in her motives and who valued the high purposes that controlled her life. And with the voice of victory she urges us, each and all, to "put on the whole armor of Love, and to give as we have received."

And her interpretation of these watchwords would be "Give yourselves" without reserve to loving service—"endeavor by your personal effort to lift up the degraded, to strengthen the weak, to comfort the distressed and to protect the

young," to carry the "Little Ones." "Whatsoever your hand and heart find to do, do it with your might."

What more fitting and enduring memorial of Mrs. Lowell can we individually establish than to dedicate ourselves to the achievement of loving deeds? Let our individual service to the friendless and the sorrowing become a sacred service, not a lavish bestowment of money in indiscriminate alms, but a careful consideration of each individual's condition, the giving of all the time and thought that will enable us to assume conscientiously the responsibilities she carried in her widely-conceived acts of mercy and love.

Mrs. Lowell was in earnest in whatever cause she undertook. And because she was in earnest, men and women believed in her and listened to her plans and followed her leadership. She considered carefully the methods she adopted. She never wearied in her aims, and the citizens of this city took time to consider the practical suggestions made by this wise and self-sacrificing woman for the public good.

Look at the deeds she wrought: Reforms in the care of paupers, active effort to secure civil service betterment; reforms in State charities; reforms in prison methods; reforms in relief effort. Look back, too, upon her personal attempt to ameliorate the conditions of women workers—in garment making and in the manufacture of artificial flowers—at a time when public sentiment was indifferent to the defenceless condition of women in the trades. Here, as always, Mrs. Lowell was brave to stand for the right. It was this noble-spirited woman who gathered from the wise and the most liberal large sums of money to establish temporarily public work-rooms on the East Side, when men and women were stranded, and must beg or steal or die for want of food. This heroic friend of humanity studied the situation and by her careful planning so devised methods of employment that relief by work was supplied without resulting in demoralization to the individual recipient of needed help.

Behold the membership and influence of the Woman's Municipal League as it is to-day! It was Mrs. Lowell, our strong adherent to the right, who conceived the idea of uniting women to consider the city's needs! She never faltered in her interest or in her detemination to promote an honest city government in so far as her individual power and influence could effect it. Day and night with but few to hold up her hands, in the early days of this League, Mrs. Lowell toiled to create interest among women and men in our city affairs. I have seen her when the early autumn came, previous to the city elections, while the most of her associates were still out of town, day after day preparing documents for distribution and writing notes to absent acquaintances, soliciting the use of drawing-rooms in which meetings might be held to discuss the city's political issues. Great as was the cause to be maintained, she held no detail as too small to receive her attention.

Was she discouraged during these days? Ah! yes, but not disheartened. The cause in hand was too important; the issues were too vital to the public weal. Freely she paid bills incurred, but no one realized how liberal were her gifts; it was done for the cause she had at heart.

Why was this noble worker for good allowed to so toil with but few women to stand with her and to be by her side? *Why?* Ah! friends, but few of us recognized the dangers that threatened the city, and alas! but few of us had awakened to our personal responsibility to meet the situation. It was Mrs. Lowell's love of righteousness in government as in all things else that made her so willing to struggle with the hydra-headed monster that threatened city rule. She was ready to give herself that she might possibly overcome evil. Are you and I thus ready to-day? When we look back upon Mrs. Lowell's magnificent, womanly career, are you and I ready to do as she did? To give ourselves to

promote righteousness and to save humanity? How can we so develop one another in memory of her life, that every worthy cause shall find the needed leaders and earnest adherents?

Mrs. Lowell stood ready to aid wherever there was opportunity collectively or individually to render service for humanity. She was modest always, and not self-assertive. She was steadfast, hopeful and devoted. Would that each woman present to-day might hereafter conceive that in every opportunity for service there is a call to duty! Leaders would then be developed for grand achievement in all causes that may need their direction and women all over the land would rise to call her who has been our noble leader, "*Blessed!*"

Let us who honor the memory of our philanthropic friend rise in our might to battle with evil and to promote love and charity and good will among men. In thus devoting our purposes for good, we will each erect a loving memorial in the lives of those to whom we may minister. A memorial to Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, that shall uplift humanity, would indeed rejoice her heart throughout eternity! And in our hearts we shall individually hear the soul-lifting words, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my little ones ye have done it unto me!"

Miss Bond concluded by reading the following poem by Mrs. Mary Lowe Dickinson:

MRS. JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL.

IN MEMORIAM.

With glow so strong, so tender, and serene,
As now and then, a star breaks through the gloom,
Dispelling, one by one the brooding clouds—
Till midnight shade melts in the glow of morn—
So, now and then a soul serene and strong
Shines downward through the clouds of human pain,
And through the dark of human need and wrong,
Till, 'neath its patient toil and radiant calm—
Evil shrinks back abashed, and good is crowned.

A star like this is for no land or clime;
Each cloud alike its radiance must share,
And when its light is lost, the whole earth mourns.

A soul like hers to the wide world belongs;
Its light, though sometimes hid awhile or quenched,
Flames ever at the heart of human woes;
And, kept alive by those who knew and loved,
Becomes consuming fire to every wrong
That holds humanity in suffering's thrall.

Shine on, O Star! in life's oft-clouded heaven!
Burn on, O Soul of flame! in life's sore needs.
Pierce e'en our sadness! Let thy light be given
To those who glad would follow where it leads,
Who fain would change their love and grief to deeds.

Peace Conference.

Miss Grace H. Dodge spoke extemporaneously of Mrs. Lowell and her relationship to the Peace movement. She especially emphasized Mrs. Lowell's beautiful service in the fall of 1904, when the great National Peace Conference was held in Boston and extra meetings were held in New York.

Miss Dodge further emphasized the spirit of peace and love and gentleness which always pervaded Mrs. Lowell's personality and her home surroundings, and said how much this peaceful atmosphere had done to rest and help the many tired workers and friends who came in to consult her.

East Side Relief Work Committee.

LILLIAN D. WALD.

In the early summer of 1893 the lower East Side gave evidence of the terrible winter that was to follow. It was my first acquaintance at close quarters with the neighborhood of the tenements. It was not easy to pass the summer and see actual want of food among people who in almost every instance appeared to be wholly respectable; to see the unemployed organize almost spontaneously and storm an empty hall in their desire to get in for the purpose of conferring about their need, because they had no money to pay for a meeting place; to see the battle between the people who wished to talk over their matters, which they were not allowed to do on the street, and the police who naturally wished to guard property.

All New York seemed to be away during the summer and the little group at the College Settlement, where I was then in residence, were anxious and bewildered as were the other people of the neighborhood. With the autumn came public recognition of the hardships upon the working people, and the desire and ability to help them personified in Mrs. Lowell.

I must be pardoned for injecting a memory of my first acquaintance and personal experience with her at that time. She seemed to realize the condition of mind of young and untried people in an experience so bitter as the season of 1893 to 1894 was to them. Inexperienced as I was and unaccustomed to thinking of troubles so grave and great, she treated me like a comrade and in the midst of the gigantic work entailed upon her as administratrix of much of the relief for the unemployed, she found time to write many notes asking my counsel, climbing the five flights of stairs to the tenement where I was at that time living, inviting me to publish letters with her concerning the situation, treating me as a comrade in the responsibility and the service of the winter. I think because she was so simple about it, one took it in the same way and talked freely without self-consciousness, or perhaps it was her deeply thought-out plan to encourage the beginner by dignifying her, since Miss Dodge tells of the same experience with her.

The special work for the unemployed, called the East Side Relief Work, was organized by Mrs. Lowell, and was composed of representatives from churches, settlements, philanthropic societies and individuals. Consideration of the work to be done was started the latter part of October, 1893.

Before the Committee disbanded April 28, 1894, they had given relief by employment in street cleaning, tailor shops, tenement house whitewashing, scrubbing and laundry for the sick in the tenements, and several odd engagements for the "misfits."

November 29, 1893, the street cleaning work started with one superintendent and sixteen men.

The force was gradually increased to 854 sweepers, 25 foremen, 7 clerks, and 1 superintendent, making total of 887 men in addition to regular force.

From November 29, 1893, to April 30, 1894, the Street Cleaning Committee has paid for, at one dollar per day, 57,049½ days' work to sweepers, besides 2,780

to superintendent, foremen and clerks; 3,290 men have been employed at this work. Averaging five people to a family, 16,450 people have been helped.

		Days of Work.
Street sweeping	3,292	61,186½
Tailor shops	997	12,744
Home sewing	433	8,449
Sanitation bureau	1,153	19,175
Missions and societies	56	
Free circulating libraries	7	

The outlay for this employment was as follows:

General expenses of management	$385.62
Street sweeping	65,738.14
Tailor shops and sewing	25,364.43
Sanitation bureau	22,424.44
Missions and societies	3,179.09
Total	$117,091.72

Of course there were able and devoted men and women working with Mrs. Lowell, but she was the animating spirit and all of those associated with her at the time do, I am sure, carry a life-long memory of her patience, intelligence and ability.

She modestly said: "I believe that through this relief as little moral harm as was possible has come to those whose physical needs have been supplied." The payment for all of the work was in money, Mrs. Lowell believing that it would go back into the natural channels of trade in the poor neighborhoods in which the people lived, thus doing double good.

I have taken the following from the report issued by the East Side Relief Work Committee at the close of the work undertaken by them:

"The Committee desires also to ask you to consider the fact that, when industry and trade shall have resumed their normal conditions, there will still remain a congested and miserable population in the lower part of this city, pitiable in itself and dangerous to the community, because of the low level of life resulting from the fierce competition among the workers for a means of livelihood.

"To meet the permanent evils which existed before the panic, and will continue after the panic, and which are very great and very real, other and more radical measures promising *permanent* relief should be undertaken."

Perhaps Mrs. Lowell's lasting influence over those fortunate enough to be with her was due to the conviction that all of her social help was considered by her head as well as by her sympathy—both equally alert to respond to every human call. She had no mere blind enthusiasm for human betterment. She knew the good as well as the bad, without which she could not have been the great helper and friend of mankind that she was.

Co-operation with and Inspiration to the Settlements.

JANE E. ROBBINS, M. D.

I have known Mrs. Lowell since the winter of the unemployed, 1893-1894. Living through that winter was a tremendous experience, so that I had special chance to know her great mind and her splendid heart. It was a wonderful revelation of the possibilities of womanhood.

During a tailors' strike in the fall of 1894, I went with Mrs. Lowell to confer with an executive committee representing the large clothing houses on lower Broadway. The presiding officer was markedly discourteous, but Mrs. Lowell entirely ignored his rudeness and quietly presented the cause of the poor tailor. She never seemed to have any time to think about herself. What she said was so convincing that before we left the meeting the executive committee had given us a message to take back to the strikers. We were to tell them to stand together firmly for a shorter work-day and for a living wage. I learned to depend upon Mrs. Lowell's judgment in all labor questions. In this particular strike I held back at first, because I knew so little of the pro's and con's of the struggle; but she said wisely that all we really needed to know was that the poor tailors were making a brave fight, and that we must help them. She saw the reporters of all the influential papers, and she inspired several fine editorials. The tailors won their poor little struggle for better conditions.

Mrs. Lowell's impulsive generosity led her to want to help along all the causes in which her friends were interested. I was amused one day as we stood talking to a poor old friend of mine, when I, who had often scoffed at her Charity Organization principles, was obliged to reach over and cover her open purse with my hand.

It has been said that the two great sins of the well-to-do are mental indolence and pride. No one was mentally indolent where Mrs. Lowell was. She had books and papers and pamphlets always ready, and her beautiful smile persuaded us to read and think. Her little pamphlet on "Arbitration and Conciliation," sent to Colonel Waring during a crisis at the beginning of his service as Commissioner, led him to form a permanent Board of Conciliation which helped him to work out successfully many of the problems of his department.

And Mrs. Lowell's beautiful humility gave the last lovely finishing touch to her strong character. She said to me one day: "I was sorry not to be able to be at that meeting last night. Did Miss Addams say something that I needed *very much?*" We learned from Mrs. Lowell many lessons in co-operation and sweet reasonableness. "We must have confidence in one another," she said; and she took it for granted as we came forward new and untried that we would prove ourselves to be worthy of her confidence.

"How old was Mrs. Lowell?" some one asked me, and I answered: "She was every age." We in the Settlements felt that she belonged most of all to us because she believed in the Labor Unions and in Democracy, but we found people with whom she had worked for the city back in the days of mayors of whom we had never heard.

Many of us here present feel a devotion to her memory that is closely akin to worship. A bank president once described to me a meeting down at the Chamber of Commerce of the Finance Committee which supported the work for the unemployed. Mrs. Lowell was late and the harassed men of business present were annoyed and impatient, but when she came in the face of every man in the room was instantly transformed. Sordid cares were all forgotten, and my friend said that as he looked at Mrs. Lowell her black bonnet seemed to be a kind of halo around her head.

At a meeting held in memory of one of our friends not long before the beginning of Mrs. Lowell's last illness, I begged that she might speak to us even if she were strong enough to say only a few words. I knew it would comfort us just to see her on the platform.

By a simple change of pronouns I am able to use here to-day the words she used in giving a tribute to a fellow-worker in the cause of the unhappy Filipinos, how fittingly these words describe her own character!

"She set us all a noble example in the breadth of her sympathy, in the warmth

of her benevolence and in the activity of her beneficence. And I think that the most fitting memorial we can make to her—that which would have made her most happy, and which will give most happiness to her family, is to dedicate ourselves anew to the cause of those to whom she devoted her life—the desolate and oppressed. Her sympathies went out as ours do to the downtrodden. She held her time, her money and her life as we should hold ours—ready to respond to every cry for equal justice, no matter whence it came. And we know now, with the larger power for good that has come to her in the new life, she is still working to lift those less favored than herself, for

> "'Deep in her soul the cross she wore—
> The badge of the suffering and the poor.'"

She closed with "The Fatherland," by Lowell, and asked us to make this the measure of our patriotism.

> "Where'er a human heart doth wear
> Joy's myrtle wreath, or sorrow's gyves,
> Where'er a human spirit strives
> After a life more pure and fair,
> There is the true man's birthplace grand!
> His is a world-wide fatherland."

Women's Auxiliary of the New York Civil Service Reform Association.

Mrs. William H. Schieffelin presented the following minute adopted by the Women's Auxiliary of the New York Civil Service Reform Association:

"In the death of Mrs. Lowell the Women's Auxiliary to the Civil Service Reform Association has lost its most loyal and distinguished member.

"In 1894 Mr. Schurz requested Mrs. Lowell to organize the Auxiliary. This she undertook but declined to be the president, modestly protesting that people were tired of seeing her name. She promised, however, to do the work, and this promise she bravely kept, coming with faithful regularity to all the meetings, disregarding the weather or her own fatigue, until last winter, when finally her health gave way.

"To these meetings Mrs. Lowell brought ideas and suggestions which she presented with ever fresh enthusiasm, impressing upon her listeners the belief that to give much of one's time to the extension of the merit system was one of the chief duties in life.

"In studying the story of Mrs. Lowell's life from the time when her young husband and brother were killed in the Civil War—when she consecrated her life to the cause of humanity—we are thrilled at the revelation of the purity and nobility of her character. Mrs. Lowell's absolute abnegation of self, her unique unworldliness, her tender sympathy for the neglected and suffering, her passionate desire to help those longing and struggling for liberty and independence, her burning indignation against all that was unworthy and untrue, her patriotism and civic pride, her cheerfulness, helpfulness, and especially her humility, show a nature of surpassing purity and strength, a pattern not to women alone, but to all Americans. We who have been associated with Mrs. Lowell know that her place cannot be filled, for we have lost the inspiration of our leader and our dear friend.

"We sorrow for her, but we can also pray that our Father who has called her away may awaken in our hearts the high desire to be more like her, and to follow her beautiful example."

Mrs. Frederick Nathan.

Edwin Markham in an allegory describes how a certain good Samaritan decided to give a poor builder a home. So, without telling his purpose, he hired the builder at fair wages to build the house. The workman, left to do the work, cheated the man, putting in poor service, poor nails, poor timbers. When the Samaritan gave him the completed house, he was thunderstruck. He saw that instead of cheating his friend, he had industriously cheated himself. "If I had only known it was *my* house I was building!" he kept muttering to himself. Now Mrs. Lowell was just the antithesis of this workman: she builded the house for her Master so well, wasting not one precious moment of the time, putting such good material into her work, and making her services so valuable that she builded better than she knew. All the while that she was building shelters for the homeless, hospitals for the sick, asylums for the distressed in mind, she was in reality building for herself a temple, a temple for her own beautiful soul, a shrine before which we all kneel and bow reverently.

Mrs. Lowell had such a strong sense of civic duty that when Dr. Parkhurst went to her and asked her to form a Woman's Municipal League in order to help bring reform into our city politics, she did not hesitate, she set about the work. She was very much occupied with other important duties to which she had already pledged herself; she agreed with me that the simplest method, the most direct and the most efficacious to secure the co-operation of women in the task of electing good men to office was to put the ballot in their hands. Yet, because she saw how important it was for every woman to do everything within her limited power to bring about reform, she was able to put aside all her objections, overcome all obstacles, give up the little leisure which she had and work hard to bring about good results. Her absolute self negation, her unswerving sense of duty were always an inspiration to all her fellow-workers. Mrs. Lowell disliked speaking in public, but whenever she felt that she had a message which might be productive of good results, she put aside the personal feeling, and did all she could for the cause; her home was the meeting place for committees, her hospitable rooms always at the disposal of the members of the committee. When a small committee had to come together for a conference, her hospitality was stretched to extend to them a luncheon, so that matters could be discussed quietly over the tea-cups. She gave freely of herself, of her wonderful energy, of her valuable time, of her money, of her hospitality, and of her zeal and sympathy. With her it was "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you."

Mrs. Lowell was one of the founders of the Consumers' League and its first president. She remained in office for seven years and I have had the privilege of succeeding her in office. I worked with her from the beginning, investigating conditions of work in stores and work-shops. It was through this work that I was thrown constantly for some years with Mrs. Lowell, and learned to love her noble and beautiful character. Mrs. Lowell's idea of charity coincided with the Hebrew version. In Hebrew the word Tsedekah, meaning charity, means also "righteousness." In all her philanthropic efforts to procure better working conditions for employees, Mrs. Lowell always kept in mind the point of view of the employer and the necessity of considering his claims. The Consumers' League in endeavoring to work along the line of justice, has tried to be just not only to the helpless working-girl, but also to the hard-pressed competing employer, and to the often exasperated and long-suffering consumer.

To show Mrs. Lowell's wonderful application to work and her readiness to commence it as soon as she returned from her summer vacation, I take the fol-

lowing from a letter written two days after arriving from Europe: "We arrived Thursday and are gradually getting steady after the voyage. And now we must go to work. Can you go with me Tuesday, Thursday and Friday mornings on a tour of investigation?"

Mrs. Lowell had a genius apparently for getting at the heart of things, and for putting the gist of a matter concisely and clearly in print. These paragraphs published in one of our early reports and written by her, show why she considered it necessary to form a League to protect store workers:

"The peculiar relation of these women and young girls to the purchasing public (that they serve them directly and personally and are brought into immediate contact with them, instead of being shut away from sight and knowledge in factories) has made it possible to appeal to the conscience of the purchasing public in their behalf; and this appeal has resulted in the formation of the Consumers' League.

"This fact, however, has also acted in a contrary direction in preventing them from receiving the protection of the State, which has been extended over women and girls working in factories. Because they were constantly in the public gaze, the conditions of their work could not become so very bad as those possible in factories; therefore the attention of philanthropists and labor leaders was not attracted to them until the standard in regard to factory workers had been so far improved by factory laws and factory inspection that the long hours and fatiguing work of saleswomen seemed bad by contrast."

Writing on the subject of civil service examinations for mercantile inspectors, Mrs. Lowell said: "What I should have suggested was such an examination as would have insured a high order of general intelligence, so as to be sure of getting *educated women* (perhaps doctors) who would be respected by the shop-keepers. In all civil service examinations that is what I consider the most important thing: a high standard as to intelligence and character, so as to get a new kind of person into our public offices. We are ready now to take people who are below the average, and we ought to insist upon their being above it."

Mrs. Lowell's vision was so clear that she seemed to be able to see within, better than most of us. Like an X-ray, her sympathetic glance could penetrate beyond the limitation of the optical organ. It is easy to imagine that when she looked at cigars and cigarettes, for instance, she could see upon them the imprint of the little fingers of the seven or eight thousand children employed in the manufacture of tobacco. Perhaps when she saw the dainty, fleecy white cotton goods and the beautiful design and finish of silk goods, she could see also the tears, the sobs, the sighs, the exhaustion of the 50,000 children employed in producing these materials. I can imagine that when she peered into the glass chimney of her student lamp, she saw there the heart-breaking fatigue, and the pale and haggard countenances of the 7,000 children who work—many of them through the long hours of the night—to help make these glass chimneys which are supposed to give us better light.

It seems to me that we can in no way so well honor the memory of Mrs. Lowell than by continuing steadfastly to do the work that she so nobly planned, work which appealed to her love of justice and to her sense of duty. Walt Whitman once said: "The greatest city in the world is the city which contains the greatest men and women. If it be but a few ragged huts, it is still the greatest city in the world." Mrs. Lowell, because she was a citizen of New York, has helped to make our city great in a very real sense. The city was more radiant because of her illuminating presence in our midst. Let us toil on, holding her cherished memory as our beacon light and our footsteps will not falter.

... THE ....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. JUNE, 1906 No. 11

The regular Monthly Meeting of the League will be discontinued during the months of June, July and August.

KATHERINE T. RHODES,
Assistant Secretary.

EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT
19 EAST TWENTY-SIXTH STREET
MAY 10, 1906

Mr. Archibald A. Hill, Secretary of the Metropolitan Parks Association, in presenting the claims of Far Rockaway as the site for a seaside park for the city, briefly reviewed the history of the attempt made two years ago by civic and philanthropic organizations to secure a large ocean park at this place, and enumerated the points then made in favor of this particular location.

Plans for the park are no longer too vague to warrant a final judgment, and there is now no question of the desirability of such an ocean playground. As a factor in the perfection of these plans Mr. Hill referred to the study given by Dr. J. W. Brannan, Superintendent of Bellevue Hospital, to the treatment of convalescents in other countries, and added that the Mayor, to whom Dr. Brannan recounted his observations of the superior advantages of such treatment, suggested that a plan be worked out in which a park and convalescent homes may be happily combined—the park to be under the control of the city—the retreat for convalescents under proper medical authority.

The peninsular form of the beach, Mr. Hill went on to say, makes it particularly desirable for the double purpose of park and hospital, as the part

for fine surf bathing is removed from the extreme outer edge, which forms a quiet nook screened from recreation seekers, and admirably adapted to the use of invalids and commanding the very best ocean air there is. The whole plant owned by the city will, of course, be under its absolute control, even to the class of amusements to be found there.

Mr. Hill's remarks may be best summed up by quoting from the little folder issued by the Metropolitan Parks Association:

"At present the only ocean park owned by the City of New York is a small strip of beach at Coney Island. It is now proposed by the city to purchase a large tract of land on the ocean, and convert it into a great park for the people, and to erect on a portion of it homes for the treatment of convalescent patients discharged from our city hospitals who need further care. Last year sixteen thousand such patients were discharged from Bellevue and allied hospitals alone. Such treatment will be a means of saving money for the city, as the patients can be treated more economically in such a home than in a hospital, and a few days stay at the seaside will prevent a relapse into such illness as requires renewed treatment in a hospital.

"Rockaway Beach is the only great beach within the city limits which has not been occupied almost entirely by private residences or by amusement enterprises. It is a peninsula about six miles long, and from a quarter to a half mile wide.

"For the following reasons the Metropolitan Parks Association has approved of this beach as the site for the proposed park and convalescent homes:

"1. It is within the city limits and therefore entirely within the control of the city authorities.

"2. It is nearer the great mass of our population than any other unimproved beach.

"3. It is a most beautiful beach with excellent surf bathing on the ocean side, and on the bay side calm water for boating and for those who prefer the quieter bathing. In addition, the great sand dunes in the center of the peninsula lend themselves admirably to effective landscape treatment."

Mr. Hill named many prominent organizations in favor of this site, including the State Charities Aid Association, Charity Organization Society, the Association for the Improvement of the Poor, Outdoor Recreation League, the Settlement Association, as well as the individual settlements, and asked that the Woman's Municipal League renew the indorsement given to this movement two years ago. The passage through the Legislature of the Saxe Bill authorizing the city to expend $2,500,000 not only for the purchase of a seaside park but for the erection of convalescent homes, and the recent signing of the bill by the Mayor will be followed by hearings in the near future, at which the various organizations interested should be strongly represented.

At the conclusion of Mr. Hill's address a resolution was adopted to the effect that the Woman's Municipal League add its voice in petitioning the

Mayor for the purchase of the site named for a seaside park and for the erection of convalescent homes for discharged patients who need further hospital care, and also that the League be represented at hearings on the matter.

The meeting was also addressed by *Dr. C. Ward Crampton,* Assistant Director of Physical Training in the Public Schools of New York, on the work of physical training during and after school hours.

The problem of physical training in the New York public schools is of interest not only to the Department of Education, but to each department of the city which concerns itself with the care of humanity. In physical training all activities are directed toward a human individual which increases vigor and health—differing somewhat from physical culture, which pre-supposes physical training. The first principle is to endow each pupil with a good carriage of the body, an important contributor to health and to self-respect. The tendency of sitting at the desk during the long school day is directly away from this and seriously retards general muscular development which goes to make up vigor. Posture, indeed, is so important from a standpoint of health and character, and ordinary school life so against it, that its attainment is made one of the primary objects of physical training in our schools.

For five days of the week from 9 until 12, and from 1 until 3, the health of 600,000 children comes under the care of the Board of Education. It is far from easy, the speaker averred, to really grasp the meaning of this number. The question of how to make strong men and women, to give a fine physique to these 600,000 children is of stupendous importance. With the present course of study but fifteen minutes a day during the school session can be given to exercise. A large portion of this time is devoted to proper posture and to aid in the correction of physical defects.

Two years ago the Board of Education began to take active steps toward the solution of this problem by doing something for the boys out of school hours. The establishment under Dr. Gulick, Director of Physical Training in the Department of Education, of a Boys' Athletic League gave great emphasis to the value of athletics in school, and also cultivated a team spirit by encouraging athletic contests with the clubs of different schools and organizations, adding much to the pleasure of the boys while advancing their physical development. The Board of Directors of School District Leagues is composed of the local Board of Education, school principals, teachers and business men.

The introduction in Madison Square Garden of competitive games to show what boys from the elementary to the high school can do, has already become a feature of the popular exhibitions held in the Garden each spring. This year 1,500 competitors took part in the games. The aim of the League has been to raise the physical standard of the boys rather than to perfect athletic experts.

Of the 200,000 boys in the schools, 150,000 have been reached in the two years' work and helped to become strong, healthy citizens. Although efforts in training boys to "play fair" have met with well-defined success, it is quite impossible for boys or for girls to undertake the administration involved in handling an athletic organization which numbers up into 100,000, and in order to obtain the full benefit of playground and gymnasium athletics, much depends upon trained educators, for which the demand is urgent. The League is now extending its field by providing a general system of athletic training for the girls in the schools.

Miss Leverich, President of the Girls' Branch of the League, added a brief statement of what they hoped to do for them. She said in part:

Not only are the girls more numerous than the boys in our public schools, but they need the training to a far greater extent, and now the time has come when they are to take their turn at athletics as well as the boys.

The training of the girls involves difficulties not met with in the boys' organization. For one thing, incredible as it at first appears, they have to be *taught to play.* The education of girls has been along the lines of gentleness and quietness, while with the boy play is the natural expression of his life. The girl must also be taught it is not for her good to attempt the more strenuous form of athletics indulged in so freely by her brothers, but her physical training should be for recreation and for pleasure and limited to lighter forms of gymnastics and school athletics. It is a question how to make games interesting, how to cultivate a "team" spirit. Our present arrangement is one of self-sacrifice on the part of the teachers, many of whom have assumed the work by giving hours after school several days in the week. Classes are already formed in five schools on the lower East Side, where girls indulge in lawn tennis, basket ball, running, gymnastic games and in the folk dances. They are, moreover, encouraged to play their games in a feminine way natural to them and sure to result in no physical injury. We cannot expect to reach all the girls, but we will teach as many as we can and others will learn from them.

One of the greatest needs is the establishment of at least a few gymnasiums to replace the ordinary class rooms for these lessons. A free twenty-lesson course of instruction is being given to a class of teachers, who in turn will impart this instruction to others. The preparatory work to be accomplished intensifies the need of the financial support we crave and for which we earnestly plead.

A Child's Education in Relation to Trades

Miss Chanler's Address before the Eastern Public Education Association City Club, New York City, April 19, 1906.

Do we educate a child to fit it for a definite place in life, or do we wish childhood to contain much which busy after years cannot know? There

are many subjects without which a human life is inevitably poorer. Can some slight connection with them be established during the hours of school routine? What proportion of these hours belongs to them, and what proportion to direct preparation for economical life?

I think this states the two ambitions which so often conflict in argument concerning education. We think of the child as a wage earner before it is entirely grown, and from then on until strength and perception slacken under age. We bear in mind as we look in the little faces in the crowded class room that they will go from this study, over which we have partial control, to conditions we cannot affect, and we feel that all of the sad changes which take place so rapidly through the confinement and monotony of a factory day, might be mitigated if the preparation were more closely related to efficiency. Or, we feel that now is the only time when the variety of life can be presented through history and literature and science, and that a good education, a more or less universal one, is the only antidote to specialization.

General education is still in its beginning. We must not be surprised if arguments conflict and testimony can be quoted which is equally applicable to either side of the question. We are all trying for the same result—to make education contribute as much as possible to the individual life. The conference which is developing between parents and teachers would astonish the greatest educators of the most scholarly times in history. To visit a rural school in a poverty-stricken neighborhood, and find that the mothers' meetings would not be dispensed with by either teacher or mother, must be encouraging to those who have labored to bring this about.

The third side of the triangle, the child, is not yet specifically consulted. We still proceed on the theory that a minor is of immature judgment. Indirectly we do consult the children, because so much attention is paid to building up the weak side of the temperament; so much time is gained when the teacher knows which studies are pleasantest and easiest to the units of her class.

When a child first goes to school it brings inheritance and environment to be molded by the teacher into a scholar. It must be taught how to receive instruction from another mind and how to study by itself. Attention, understanding and memory must be developed by means of the studies designated in kindergarten and primary. Modern educators have come so far in their analysis—the teachers must come to the class trained to achieve the results expected from the graduates of that class. So we have these three elements to discuss: the teacher, the child, and the curriculum.

Fortunately many studies are equally important for any view of life. The child must know how to read, to write and to count. Hygiene has invaded the mind least sympathetic to taxation as a necessity. Gymnastics and the knowledge of food have passed the stage of conflict. There remain the subjects learned because of the value which information possesses, and those which are looked upon as a training for definite work.

A girl's education is two-fold; she must be prepared for home life and for self-support; and it is precisely here that the mothers' meetings are of practical importance. The majority of the mothers are not public school graduates, or have not profited by recent improvements in the curriculum. If they are party to the teacher's intentions how admirably do they support her influence, how quickly do they lose any dread of interference.

There are still many people entirely outside any practical connection with education who imagine that the modern mother should teach her daughter all the household arts. They point with pride to family records concerning such instruction, not realizing that very few women have ever been teachers in the modern sense. Whole generations of them were *not* equipped with words or the power of demonstration. The child used to grow up a good housekeeper not because her mother was a good teacher, but because food, clothing, furniture, candles and many utensils were produced as well as consumed under the child's eye. Home manufacture made the mother a doer, and through helping her the children went out into the world able to make and maintain a hundred things which only reach them in our generation from the counter. It is much to be regretted that home life to-day gives the hands so little play, as the hands train the brain. Of course, the school must supply this want, and of course the child should be taught something to be of use to its hands when they are bread winners.

To an outsider the school curriculum to-day seems to give no support to the theory that public school children are being taught many things which are superfluous. History does not appear until the fifth year, and then an hour and a half a week is given to it. Verses children are taught to their pleasure and profit from the beginning; enunciation, memory and information are all stored up in them. But literature as a study we do not find in the elementary schools.

There are many classes for special children who seem remote from even this amount of history. I remember visiting a reformatory one hot afternoon in May. A dozen girls with police court records were drearily indicating the march of our armies during the Mexican war; and yet we must not be accused of spending the people's taxes and not giving their children the equivalent of such an education as they would acquire at the same age if their parents were educating them in private schools.

The graduate of a public school must be fitted to rise in life. There must be no hint that preparation for immediate wage earning is the limit of their capacity or career. The Commissioner of Education must meet not only present conditions in the life of each scholar, but the ambition of the parents, the progress we have a right to expect in a country where public education prevails.

Twenty-fourth Street School Garden

In the *Local Improvement District of Chelsea* this Garden is fortunately situated between West Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Streets, having an

entrance on Twenty-fifth Street as well as from the school. There is a walk through the center, with flower beds on either side, sixty feet long by twelve wide. On either side of the garden are the brick walls of the adjoining houses, which in time we hope will be covered with the Japanese ivy given the school last spring by the Municipal Art Society. These vines were planted on Arbor Day by the school children, each child naming a plant after her favorite poet. Of the ten vines planted, only one has died; the others have grown at least ten feet during the season.

Mrs. Parsons, of the Children's School Farm, gave a number of tulip bulbs. These added greatly to the brightness of the garden. The scheme tried by the Garden Committee was to have the School Garden produce the plants used in the Nature's History Class. This was carried out with great success last summer, and a number of vegetables and flowers grown in the garden were used by the scholars in their class work.

The care of the garden was given to the children under the guidance of the janitor of the school, who is a great lover of flowers. The year before he expended five dollars of his own money for seeds and plants. The seeds used last spring were most generously given by the authorities at Washington through Professor Galoway, head of the Department of Plant Industry.

It is the desire of the committee to plant this garden as far as possible each year with hardy plants. Those needed for the use of the school will be selected so that, in time, the garden will be little or no care.

The work was most lovingly done by the children, who never tired of their interest in their flowers. The father of one of the little children asked whether his little daughter might not always enter the school by the Twenty-fifth Street gate so that she could walk through the garden; it was found that many others felt the same way.

If this garden is the success we hope to make it—and we see no reason why it should not be—it may be the means of securing for other schools the open spaces necessary for gardens, where other little gardeners may prove with willing and loving hands their true interest in a thing of real beauty.

N. A. Lamb,
Chairman of Public School Gardens.

Committee on Ice-Water Fountains

The season of the ice-water fountains opened early this year. The removal of the Sailors' and Seamen's Mission from Pike Street necessitated also the moving of the fountain installed there two years ago. We have found an even more desirable site for it at the Children's Aid School in Chambers Street. Mrs. Dodge gladly paid the expense of removal and re-installing, together with maintenance, during the year. It costs almost as much to remove a fountain as to put in a new one, as so little of the

plumbing can be utilized. The fountain at the Riverside Association House in West 69th Street has also been removed, as the superintendent, although formerly urging us to place it there, said the neighborhood was not needy enough, and they no longer cared to assume the burden of maintaining it. This has now been placed upon the Children's Aid Society in 53d Street, near Eleventh Avenue, close by Mrs. Parson's Farm Garden, and Miss Grace H. Dodge supplies the ice. Two entirely new fountains have been placed, one at the College Settlement, 95 Rivington Street, given and maintained by the Junior Section of the Council of Jewish Women, and one at the Bowery Mission, corner of Canal Street.

Our committee boasts of several new members, and all are enthusiastic over the work. We have adopted the new plan of giving each member two or more fountains for supervision, as almost all of them need our steady co-operation.

HARRIET A. DILLINGHAM,
Chairman.

May, 1906.

SPECIAL NOTICE

Members of The Woman's Municipal League who desire the Bulletin to follow them during the summer months are requested to send notice of change of address, or temporary summer address, to the Assistant Secretary, Miss Katherine T. Rhodes, 19 East 26th Street.

....THE....

WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE BULLETIN

VOL. IV. JULY, 1906 No. 12

The Municipal Art Society of New York City.

Influences to Which It Owed Its Origin—First Competition—Hunt Memorial — Electroliers — Society's Activity in Regard to Objectionable Street Signs, Posters and Billboard Advertising —School Decoration—What The Society Has Done and What It Is Working For.

This Association, organized in March, 1893, and incorporated in 1898, owed its origin largely to the sudden recognition, by the artists and that portion of the general public interested in art, of the opportunities presented in this country for mural paintings, sculpture, and other large and important decorations in public and private buildings. It was thought that a new opening for American art had been revealed, and that there was at hand a fuller development of that artistic revival which was considered to have begun some fifteen years before. The membership of the new Society was composed largely of professional men, architects, painters and sculptors, but it was found to be very difficult to overcome the comparative indifference both of the laymen and of the civic authorities. The aim of the Society, as set forth in its charter, was "to provide adequate sculptural and pictorial decorations for the public buildings and parks in the City of New York; and to promote in every practicable way the beautifying of its streets and public places." The idea of the founders was that a sufficiently large membership might be attained to furnish an annual income adequate to the actual commissioning of works of decorative art from year to year. These commissions would not be apportioned among the members of the Society exclusively, but the competitions would be open to all comers.

All Communications should be sent to THE WOMAN'S MUNICIPAL LEAGUE,
19 East 26th Street

FIRST COMPETITION.

An opportunity soon presented itself in the proposed decoration of a large wall space back of the Judges' bench in the Criminal Branch of the Supreme Court in the Criminal Courts Building in Centre Street. A competition under the auspices of the Society was accordingly opened for this painting, and the commission awarded to Mr. Edward Simmons, but the cost of the execution, some $5,000, exhausted the Society's income for three years.

HUNT MEMORIAL.

In 1895 the Society had proposed the erection of a suitable memorial to its first President, Richard Morris Hunt, the architect; a monument to be presented to the city and which should be a permanent municipal embellishment. Later, it was thought appropriate to invite the co-operation of other artistic bodies, and the Hunt Memorial Committee, thus formed, was composed of representatives from twelve art societies, which appointed the Board of Directors of the Municipal Art Society a sub-committee in charge of the execution of the work. The latter, acting under authority of one of the By-Laws of the Society, selected Daniel Chester French as the sculptor for this memorial, and he associated with himself as architect Bruce Price, a former President of the Society. The completed monument now stands against the east wall of Central Park, opposite the Lenox Library. Mr. Price generously presented his design and working drawings; the cost of construction, amounting to $10,000, was paid out of the funds raised by the Hunt Memorial Committee, and Mr. French paid in full for the bust of Mr. Hunt. He also completed and set in place the two statues of Architecture and the Allied Arts, and for these he was later reimbursed by the Society and the Hunt Memorial Committee.

RADICAL CHANGE OF METHODS.

The results of these two projects led to a complete revolution in the Society's methods; it was resolved hereafter to live within its income, and instead of attempting grandiose enterprises, followed by periods of exhaustion, to accomplish something definite, and within its means, every year. At the meeting of May 14th a resolution was adopted that "the major part (less running expenses) of the Society's income should be expended each year in erecting a definite example of civic beauty, such as a drinking fountain, the lamp posts allowed by law in front of the house of an Ex-Mayor, an electric light standard, an historic tablet, mural painting, or similar work." And, as a practical exemplification of this policy, that the subject of securing artistic and appropriate street markings, naming of streets and numbering of houses, should be immediately taken up and a committee appointed to consult with the city authorities. Conferences between this Committee, the Fine Arts Federation, the Woman's Municipal League, the West End Association, and other bodies, and the co-operation of Borough President Cantor,

led to the adoption of three kinds of signs, suitable for different localities, of which those most in evidence in the streets, so far, are the triangular signs at the street corners, so ingeniously contrived that the passenger in the rapid-flitting surface car can read both the name of the avenue he is traversing (on the apex of the triangle) and that of the street he is crossing (on the two sides). The usefulness of these signs by night, however, is greatly impaired by the neglect of the authorities to illuminate them, by a burner or light in each corner, as originally designed. The committee considered its great achievement to have been that it had persuaded the Borough President to submit these designs to the Art Commission of the city for its approval—though he was not required by law to do so—and thus set an example for all future municipal officers.

ELECTROLIERS AT "ISLES OF SAFETY."

A more completely successful result has been obtained in the case of the "Isles of Safety" and the bronze and iron electroliers erected at the intersection of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-third Street, at the Erie Ferry, and in Longacre Square, at the Society's initiative and from its designs, secured by artistic competitions held under its auspices. The cost of the first of these was met by the Society, by the outlay of about half of its annual income, the city, under the direction of President Cantor, furnishing the granite base and foundation. The cost of the two electroliers in Longacre Square, about $5,000, was contributed by the Astor estate. The constant increase in the number of street fixtures of all kinds impelled the Society, through one of its permanent committees, to undertake to call the attention of the Municipal authorities to the necessity of some artistic appropriateness in their design. The Society was represented in the "Street Signing Conference of Municipal Organization," formed in November, 1904, and this Conference succeeded in getting the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to appropriate $30,000 for signing Manhattan in accordance with the suggestions of the Conference. Through another committee the Society has waged war on offensive and unnecessary commercial posters and private advertising signs on buildings, walls, etc.; it secured the removal of those surrounding the new Public Library on Fifth Avenue, and of those in the Subway Stations, the latter issue being carried into the courts.

ADVERTISING SIGNS.

The committee on private advertising signs, in their report in the spring of 1905, stated that it was "agreeable to note how rapid had been the improvement in public opinion in recent years in regard to posters, etc., and to record that in the subway matter the expression of public opinion was prompt, widespread and intelligent."

SCHOOL DECORATION.

The President of the Board of Education offered the Committee commissioned to act in this matter their choice of four school buildings, and

the Morris High School, One Hundred and Sixty-sixth Street and Boston Road was selected. A very comprehensive and elaborate scheme for the wall of the auditorium, the corridors and the classrooms, was drawn up, but a new $10,000 organ presented to the school was placed against the main wall of the auditorium, where the Committee had planned the chief motif of the whole decoration, and a change of the architect's plans has led to an increase of the height of this main apartment, which prevents any further consideration of it for the present. It was, however, decided to decorate the panel on each side of the main entrance in the vestibule, and the Society arranged a competition for these paintings open to all artists. An encouraging feature of this scheme was the fund of $3,500 which was raised for this purpose by popular subscription; and another is the active, local interest taken in this proposition by the North Side Board of Trade and many leading business men and other citizens of the Borough of the Bronx. This initiative also led to the decoration of the De Witt Clinton High School, just completed, an appropriation of $3,500 for this purpose being granted by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment—the first of its kind in the municipal records.

It is interesting to note that the first report of the Committee of Decoration of Public Buildings, made to the Society in March, 1904, frankly took the tone of a "Jeremiad":—"official ignorance and public indifference, or official indifference and public ignorance, indifference and ignorance more dense and widespread than we of the Committee had conceived possible—these constitute the untoward conditions which have opposed an absolute barrier to every movement which we have undertaken to further."

DESIRED UNDERTAKINGS.

Among the buildings which the Committee had hoped to help complete, in addition to the Hall of Records, and the public schools, were the forty Carnegie libraries in the Borough of Manhattan, the five Brooklyn libraries, and, if possible, the new Public Library and the City Hall.

COMMITTEE ON FLOWER VINES AND AREA PLANTING.

One of the most active of the minor committees of the Society has been that on flowers, vines and area planting, the mission of which is to enhance the beauty of the city by the encouragement of living greenery everywhere—the planting of trees and shrubbery along the streets, of vines to cover the walls, or window-boxes to enliven the monotony of the house fronts, etc. It even undertook to establish a sample "block beautiful" on Brooklyn Heights, and did succeed in awakening very considerable interest in the setting out of vines and shrubs around public schools and charitable institutions, and in securing the active co-operation of the Botanical Gardens of the Bronx, the Commissioner of Parks for that borough, and of other officials and societies, both in the city and in the country at large.

IMPORTANT COMMITTEES.

Through its committees on City Plan, Civic Centres, Parks, and on Thoroughfares, the Society has been very active in measures tending to pave the way for that gradual replanning and embellishment of the city as a whole, which, entirely neglected in the past, can now be accomplished only piecemeal and at a greatly increased cost. It early became apparent that intelligent municipal embellishment was dependent upon the establishment of a comprehensive structural development plan for the entire city. The Conference Committee of the Society, in collaboration with representatives of the Merchants' Association of New York, The New York Board of Trade and Transportation, The Manufacturers' Association of New York, The American Society of Civil Engineers, The Architectural League of New York, The National Society of Mural Painters and the National Sculpture Society, drew up an exhaustive report in which was recommended to Mayor Low, in 1902, the appointment of a Commission to serve without pay, to formulate such suggestions as might be made from time to time, and present them in the shape of a comprehensive plan for his approval. This Commission, known as the City Improvement Commission, including representatives of Commerce, Finance, Transportation, Engineering, Landscape Architecture, Architecture, The Fine Arts, Municipal Statistics, and Municipal Law, was appointed by Mayor McClellan early in 1904, and made an elaborate report in December of that year, which contained among its recommendations many of the suggestions previously proposed by the Municipal Art Society, and which was the first official recognition by the city of the desirability of comprehensive planning in anticipation of municipal needs.

SUGGESTIONS AND WORK OF THE SOCIETY.

The recommendations, suggestions, plans and specifications which have been drawn up and presented to the public and the civic authorities by the Society have indeed been numerous, and have included in their scope all portions of the territory of Greater New York. Among the most important may be cited: a very ingenious plan for the arrangement of the crossing of the street railway tracks at the Columbus Circle, 59th Street and Eighth Avenue; the development of a sea park at Coney Island, where the city owns some fifty acres of land with a magnificent surf shore-front; suggestions for the site of the new Post Office; for a rearrangement of Union Square in connection with the extension of the Subway routes, which plan was approved by the city authorities; a memorial relative to proposed changes in and about City Hall Square, including the purchase of all the property on the north side of Chambers Street, from the Hall of Records westward to Broadway, and extending back to Reade Street, for the present occupancy and future construction of the offices of the municipal administration; plans for the extension of Riverside Park over the tracks of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad; for the widening of 59th Street

in connection with the approaches to Blackwell's Island Bridge on the east and its intersection with the Circle rearrangement on the west; the cutting of the Manhattan approaches to the Delancey Street Bridge; the extension of Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, and the improvement of the Brooklyn Ocean Parkway, extending from Prospect Park south to Coney Island; the new works in the Bronx, supplementing the suggestions for the treatment of the upper end of Manhattan along the Harlem River connecting the Speedway and the Boulevard Lafayette; the re-mapping and comprehensive laying out of the streets and thoroughfares of Staten Island, including a park system, and even plans for the proposed Henry Hudson Memorial Bridge across Spuyten Duyvil Creek from the heights of Inwood to the heights of Spuyten Duyvil, in connection with the Hudson Tri-centennial Celebration in 1909.

OTHER ACTIVITIES.

The Society, in active co-operation with the Fine Arts Federation, also took an important part in the protests raised against the proposed change of plans of the new Manhattan Bridge, which protests led to the injunction obtained against the adoption of the proposed new plans by the municipal authorities; and also, in co-operation with the Federation and the Brooklyn Chapter American Institute of Architects, against the recent similar attempted change of plans of the new Brooklyn municipal buildings. Its growing authority in these grave matters of reform is evidenced by the fact that it was to the Society that the aggrieved engineer made his protest in the first instance. Through its Committee on Excess Condemnation the Society has also been active in endeavoring to devise a practicable plan for enabling the city to profit by its own public improvements instead of being heavily taxed for the same, said taxation, or greatly increased cost, accruing to the benefit of the holders of adjoining realty, by the rise in value of their property. The Committee has introduced in the Legislature at Albany a bill which has been carefully drawn to meet the requirements of this plan.

MISSIONARY EFFORTS.

Among the Society's methods of awakening the public interest in its efforts for municipal betterment, and securing the very necessary popular support, must be included its public dinners, its recurring exhibitions, and its courses of lectures. In the galleries of the National Arts Club was opened, in January, 1902, the first exhibition in the city devoted to the artistic possibilities of municipal work, with the co-operation of the City History Club, the American Park and Out-Door Art Association, the Fairmount Park Association, the League of Social Service and the Middlesex Woman's Club of Lowell, and with exhibits from Boston, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Poughkeepsie, Cleveland, Buffalo, Washington, and other localities. Another exhibition, held in the same galleries in April, 1903, included representative exhibits from various city departments, from the American Park and Out Door Art Association, the Twentieth Century Club of Brooklyn,

the City and Suburban Homes Company, American Institute of Civil Service, Tenement House Department, and other organizations. The third annual exhibition was held in March, 1904, equally varied and interesting; and the fourth in March and April, 1905; and a special exhibition, the first of its kind of artistic and commercial posters and advertising signs, in April, 1906.

LECTURES.

In addition to the annual dinners, which inaugurate the official exhibitions, several others are given in the course of every year, and on these social occasions the municipal authorities are always well represented among the guests of honor and the distinguished speakers. Indeed, the courteous co-operation of the civic rulers, in their various departments, is one of the most pleasing features generally in the various records and committee reports of the Society, and has tended greatly to facilitate its work in the arduous field of civic reform. The course of lectures include a great variety of subjects and of speakers; those of 1905 were organized in two courses of eight lectures each, under the auspices of the Board of Education, and these were given in various selected localities in the boroughs of Manhattan and Brooklyn, and were attended by good audiences. In addition, a number of single lectures were given as the outcome of the work of the committee in charge, so that the total for the season was about forty-five in all.

The present officers of the Society are: Charles Rollinson Lamb, President; William T. Evans, First Vice-President; John J. Boyle, Second Vice-President; William Walton, Secretary; Edward D. Page, Treasurer; Nelson S. Spencer, Counsel. Women as well as men are eligible for membership in the Municipal Art Society.

Stanford White.

A distinguished member of the Municipal Art Society, Mr. White was unique in that group as he was in all others with which he allied himself, for, generously dowered with the god-like gift of the creative quality, he outranked in natural endowment, not alone all living Americans in his profession, but all but a small minority of the exceptionally gifted the whole world over. Fine as much of his work is, there is not a building with which his name is associated that does full justice to his genius—the more's the pity, for this country, least of all, can spare the genius or the highest possible expression of his art.

Civic Notes.

MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS PROGRAM.

Following is an outline prepared for the Municipal Affairs Committee of the Grand Rapids Board of Trade by Charles W. Garfield, its chairman, and a prominent member of the National Municipal League. The interesting outline is suggestive of the needs of many cities:

1. A Better Governed City:
   - (a) Charter amendments.
   - (b) Efficiency in administration methods.
   - (c) Enforcement of law.
2. A Cleaner City:
   - (a) Outside the sewer district.
   - (b) Management of garbage and refuse.
   - (c) Controlling rubbish in streets.
   - (d) Treatment of alleys.
   - (e) The smoke nuisance.
3. A Healthier City:
   - (a) The wells.
   - (b) Food adulteration.
   - (c) Pure milk and good meat.
   - (d) Quarantine measures.
   - (e) Architecture with relationship to good health.
   - (f) Fighting tuberculosis.
4. A More Beautiful City:
   - (a) The parks.
   - (b) Parkways.
   - (c) Treatment of residence streets.
   - (d) Controlling billboards.
   - (e) Treatment of vacant lots.
   - (f) Factory embellishments and riverside beauty.
   - (g) Building lines.
   - (h) Embellishment of grounds about public buildings.
   - (i) Street trees.
5. A City of Conveniences:
   - (a) Public comfort stations.
   - (b) Finger boards.
   - (c) Clocks and weather signals.
   - (d) Railway and Interurban stations.
   - (e) Street names and house numbers.
   - (f) Resting conveniences.
   - (g) Drinking fountains.
   - (h) Cheap farmer's stables.
   - (i) Public retail market.